GOZZI IN GERMANY

A SURVEY OF THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE GOZZI VOGUE IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE GERMAN ROMANTICISTS

BY

HEDWIG HOFFMANN RUSACK

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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To my Mother

Ad astra per aspera

PREFACE

The object of the present study is to survey the rise and progress of the German interest in Gozzi and the reflection of this interest on the stages of Germany and Austria, and in German literature, down to the decay of the Gozzi vogue in the nineteenth century. In covering so long a period and treating material of such magnitude, no claim can be made to completeness. The best I can hope to do is to present in outline the Gozzi vogue, so that quantitatively at least it will stand out in its main features.

So broad a survey would have been impossible without the previous work of Albert Köster, who, in his *Schiller als Dramaturg,* covered at least in brief outline, the eighteenth century, the Romanticists and some of the authors of the nineteenth century. To follow in the path of this master of German literary history, has been at once a discouragement and an inspiration. The skillful manner in which he unraveled the tangled story of Gozzi's entrance to the German stage from contemporary periodicals and prints, is a model for researches of this character. Especially in his analysis of Werthes' translation and of Schmidt's *Hermannide,* and of the early attempts of Schröder and Gotter, as well as the weaker essays of Dyk and others, Köster investigated and exposed with success the early appearances of the *fiabe* (satirical fairy drama) on the German stage. Throughout, his suggestions and particularly his voluminous notes have been guides in seeking reflections of Gozzi in Germany. His treatment of Schiller's version of *Turandot* is so complete that I have been, I think, fully justified in omitting this work entirely from my discussion.

Although one must marvel at the great amount of material which Köster comprehends in the brief space to which he confines himself, his sketch of the Gozzi vogue touches only

its high points. His work is an outline presenting in condensed form certain aspects of the appearance of the fiabe in German literature, rather than a detailed picture of the Gozzi vogue. Many important works which owe their genesis to the Venetian mask dramas do not appear at all; significant chapters, like Gozzi's influence on Hoffmann, are treated with brevity, or like the operas and Singspiele of the end of the eighteenth century or the minor Austrian dramatists of the early nineteenth, are altogether lacking. It has been my task to trace the movement in detail and to give the resulting picture in perspective. This has been done in the main by the use of contemporary periodicals, plays and librettos. Although it has not been possible to find all of these, I have been able, thanks to the libraries of Venice, Munich, Vienna, Berlin and Hamburg, to examine personally nearly all of the sources mentioned.

The first part of the work is, in the main, a survey of Gozzi on the German stage, from the earliest adaptations in the 1770's down to the beginning of the twentieth century. While, as I have stated, no claim is made to completeness, the list is as exhaustive as a wide examination of contemporary sources permits. If here and there the contents of the various works have been retold on a somewhat liberal scale, it is because the plays and librettos cited are very difficult of access and few users of this study will be able to consult them. Contemporary criticism has been adduced so far as possible, in order to give a picture of the attitude of the time toward Gozzi, and of the adaptations from his works. While, as has been said above, it has been thought best to omit Schiller, the most distinguished adapter of Gozzi to the German stage, I have found it necessary to devote a chapter to Goethe, whose debt to Gozzi has thus far received no detailed attention.

The latter part of the work is devoted to a somewhat more intensive study of the three Romanticists to whom Gozzi

made an especial appeal. Certain definite tendencies of the Romantic movement harmonize particularly with the spirit of the fiabe. Gozzi's staunch support of the popular form of the national drama, his use of the fairy drama for satire, thus combining the popular with the satirical, could not fail to please a group of poets who felt a yearning for the simple and natural, while quivering under the discord between their ideals and the facts of contemporary literature and life. Men like Tieck and Hoffmann preferred to think of the fiabe as a spontaneous, sincere product of conditions similar to those among which they were living and suffering. The caustic humor of Gozzi wakened a responsive chord in their bosoms and they set him on a pedestal beside Aristophanes. In view of this, the method of procedure here has been more intensive than in the earlier chapters, and in place of a mere survey, I have sought to show in detail how thoroughly the Italian master was absorbed by his German admirers. Particularly in the case of Hoffmann—this "malende Gozzi," as Jean Paul calls him—the fiabe became a part of the psychological texture of Märchen fancies.

I wish to express my great obligations to Professor Robert Arnold of the University of Vienna; to Dr. Gregor, Dr. Max Pirker, and Fräulein Brettschneider of the National Library, Vienna; to Professor Schnorr von Carolsfeld of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich; and to Dr. Wahl and Dr. Berg of the Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg, for their very kind assistance in aiding my researches. And especially do I wish to thank Professor Robert Herndon Fife, of Columbia University, New York, without whose unfailing enthusiasm, encouragement, and inspiration this dissertation would never have been written.

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INTRODUCTION

CARLO GOZZI AND HIS WORK

Carlo Gozzi was born in Venice on December 13, 1720, as the sixth of the eleven children of Jacopo Antonio Gozzi and Angela Tiepolo Gozzi, both of excellent family.[1] The parents lived the extravagant, nonchalant life of the aristocracy of decadent Venice, exhausting present supplies without heeding the future. The older children were given a fairly good education. As the younger ones grew up, however, the lack of funds grew more and more apparent, and since outward display had to be maintained at all costs, the children were left pretty much to their own devices. However, excellent moral precepts and an orthodox, even though formal, observance of religious ceremonies were taught them by their father. They became proficient in fencing, dancing, and horseback riding. Performing in private theatricals at home was one of their chief amusements.[2]

A strong literary tendency was inherited from both sides

[1] The Gozzi family were "cittadini originari" of Venice and "Conti di Terra Ferma": that is, their title of "Count" seems to have depended upon the fact that they held lands in feudal tenure within the Venetian state. The mother was descended from one of the oldest and most aristocratic families in Venice. Cf. Carlo Gozzi, *Memorie inutili,* ed. by G. Prezzolini, I, 26-27.

It may not be amiss to draw attention here to Gozzi's picturesque memoirs, which he entitled sardonically: *Memorie inutili della vita di Carlo Gozzi, scritte da lui medesimo e pubblicate per umiltà,* a most interesting and valuable document, in that it draws a graphic picture of the life of Venice during the decadent period prior to the French Revolution. This has been the chief source for the present sketch of Gozzi's biography. It is largely the basis for the biographical material contained in Ernesto Masi's masterly sketch of Gozzi's life, as well as for G. B. Magrini's excellent work: *I tempi, la vita e gli scritti di Carlo Gozzi.* It has been rendered freely into English by J. A. Symonds in his own entertaining style. Cf. Bibliography.

[2] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. II.

of the house and came to fruition both in Gasparo,[3] who gained lasting fame in Italian letters, and in Carlo, who was destined to make the name of Gozzi internationally known. As a boy he devoured avidly every book that came within his reach and incessantly scribbled rhymes modelled upon his omnivorous reading. To form a good literary style was Carlo's aim even when young. His precocious literary gifts caused the family to regard him as a young prodigy, and to applaud heartily his early flights of fancy.

A cruel stroke of apoplexy, which laid low Jacopo Gozzi, depriving him of speech although leaving him in full possession of his mental faculties, contributed to the rapid downfall of the family fortunes.[4] This decline was further accelerated by the marriage of Gasparo to the romantic poetess, Luigia Bergalli, who, abetted by the Countess Gozzi, undertook to manage the monetary affairs of the family without having the slightest comprehension of the principles of business or household economy. The situation became intolerable to Carlo, and with the aid of his maternal uncle, Almoró Cesare Tiepolo, he joined as volunteer the forces of Girolamo Quirini, Provveditore Generale for Dalmatia and Albania.

The account which Carlo Gozzi has given of the three years spent in these Venetian provinces is full of vivid interest for its descriptions of the country, the people, the routine of existence and the pastimes of the young scapegrace soldiers in times of peace. This experience, rich though it was in opportunities for the development of character, revealed to Gozzi that his natural bent was for literature and not for a military life. At the end of the period of enlist-

[3] The works of Gasparo Gozzi are found in many of the large libraries (cf. Library of Columbia University, New York). Frequent mention is made of Gasparo by Carlo in his memoirs, as well as by other contemporary Venetian writers. Cf. *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. III.

[4] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chaps. IV-XIV incl.

ment he returned to Venice, enriched by the memory of exciting and romantic experiences and by friendships such as that of the noble Innocenzio Massimo,[5] which was to endure until death.

When Carlo returned home, the Gozzi family was on one of its country estates in Friuli. Here his troubles began in earnest. He found his father absolutely helpless,[6] the family's financial affairs in the inefficient but arbitrary hands of his mother and sister-in-law, and the entailed property sold for the lives of the present owners for paltry sums with which to meet current extravagant expenditures. In short, he was faced with a general condition of havoc and ruin. He set to work as soon as possible to unravel this seemingly hopeless Gordian knot of entangled business affairs, only to find himself hampered and constantly obstructed in his endeavors by the very people whom he was trying to benefit. After the sudden death of his father, it was deemed advisable to divide the residue of the estate, Carlo continuing its administration throughout the greater part of his life.[7]

The strain of his harassed existence young Gozzi relieved by an ever-growing interest in literature. This led him to become a member of the "Accademia de Granelleschi,"[8] an organization of Venetian aristocrats and literati which strove to cultivate a proper, classical style in Italian literature. It vented its wrath particularly upon innovations in the theatre, attacking directly the two leading dramatists of the time: the Abate Pietro Chiari, whose pompous, bombastic, pseudo-erudite drama provoked just criticism from the academician classicists; and Goldoni. Carlo Gozzi's mordant pen soon

[5] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chaps. IV-XIV. Innocenzio Massimo, a noble of Padua, was enrolled as captain of the halberdiers. Gozzi speaks with sincere affection throughout his memoirs of this lifelong friend.

[6] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chaps. XV-XVI.

[7] Throughout the *Memorie inutili,* Gozzi treats at length of his family affairs.

[8] *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. XXXIII.

made Chiari the principal protagonist and polemist in this literary war, which raged between the years 1756 and 1761. He dealt his opponents trenchant blows in a series of satirical pamphlets: *Tartana degl' influssi per l'anno bissestile 1757,*[9] *Il teatro comico,*[10] and *Fogli sopra alcune massime del genio e costumi del secolo dell' Abate Pietro Chiari e contri i Poeti Nugnez de' nostri tempi,*[11] as well as in a host of minor writings.

Gozzi's attacks were of special virulence because the two popular playwrights above mentioned had declared themselves against the "Commedia dell' Arte," the improvised comedy, which had fallen upon evil days. This popular form of entertainment had noble traditions as a creation of national dramatic art, but had degenerated to such an extent in Venice that it had become a positive scandal to the drama. Thus Chiari and Goldoni were justified in trying to abolish it, particularly the latter, who wished to substitute for it a really high type of comedy of character and manners. Their attacks, however, came at a time when the old national comedy was struggling to revive itself. There existed at that time in Venice a group of impromptu actors, the Sacchi troupe, whose really excellent performance of work of the type of the Commedia dell'Arte merited applause, yet who were in danger of starvation on account of the disapproval roused by their opponents.

This situation gave Gozzi his opportunity, when, at the height of the controversy just referred to, Goldoni proudly pointed to the huge crowds which nightly flocked to enjoy his plays as sufficient proof of their essential value, and loftily challenged Gozzi to produce something equally attractive.[12] The latter, stung to the quick, retorted that

[9] Parigi, 1757.

[10] Classe IX, Cod. 327, at the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice.

[11] Colombani, 1761. Cf., for the three books above mentioned, *Memorie inutili,* I, Chap. XXXIV.

[12] *Memorie inutili,* Chap. XXXIV, p. 229.

crowded theatres were no criterion at all by which to judge the merits or demerits of a play, but pledged himself to draw still larger crowds by staging the puerile fairy tale of *The Love of the Three Oranges.*[13] The mocking laughter which greeted this retort drove him to make good his boast. Accordingly he composed the outline of the play, as it has come down to us, and presented it to the Sacchi troupe, who then produced it at the theatre San Samuele at Venice during the Carnival of 1761.[14]

Several factors contributed to the instantaneous success of the production. Its novelty and unexpectedness, as well as the biting yet ludicrous parodies on the plays of Chiari and Goldoni which it contains, created an utterly unlooked-for furore, which overwhelmed the two idols of the public. The amusement-loving Venetians, lulled into a false sense of political security by their rigidly paternal government, living in a mad whirl of gaiety and ready to accept as matter for serious public debate the most absurd trivialities, were particularly susceptible to this kind of spectacular performance, which furnished them with ample scenic effects and clever acting. The playgoers flocked to the theatre San Samuele, the newspapers acclaimed the unexpected phenomenon, and press and public hooted down the attempt of Gozzi's adversaries to depreciate the immense success.[15]

L'amore delle tre melarance was followed in short order by nine other fiabe: *Il corvo,* which was first produced at the Royal Theatre of Milan during the summer of 1761, and in Venice in October of the same year;[16] *Turandot,* January 22, 1762; *La donna serpente,* October 29, 1762; *La zobeide,*

[13] *Ibid.,* Chap. XXXIV.

[14] *Ibid.,* Chap. XXXIV.

[15] *Ibid.,* II, Chap. I.

[16] These data are based on information found in the "ragionamenti" which precede the fiabe in the original Italian editions, not accessible in this country. The gist of them is to be found in G. B. Magrini, *I tempi, la vita, e gli scritti di Carlo Gozzi,* pp. 202-21.

presented for the first time at Turin, August 10, 1763; *I pitocchi fortunati,* July 29, 1764; *Il mostro turchino,* December 8, 1764; *L'augellino belverde,* in January, 1765; and *Zeim, re de' genj,* November 27, 1765.[17] All were hailed with enthusiasm by audiences of Venice and the neighboring cities.

These fairy-dramas, that were the incidental result of literary warfare, and which employed to advantage five of the masks so admirably suited to the principal actors of the Sacchi troupe, were not the spontaneous productions of an ardent imagination fired by enthusiastic ideals of art. They were, rather, conceived in a satirical and polemical spirit. They furnished their author with a merry pastime which confuted his adversaries and annihilated their prestige with the theatregoers, while at the same time providing an excellent way of enriching his friends and protégés, the comic actors. The immediate result of the meteor-like apparition of Gozzi's fairy dramas was to oust both Chiari and Goldoni,[18] the latter only temporarily however, from their vaunted seats of pride. The former retired to Brescia,[19] while Goldoni went to Paris,[20] never to return to his beloved Venice. Gozzi and the Sacchi troupe were left to reign supreme.

The clever playwright's account of his friendship with the genial, yet childlike comedians of the company, a friendship which lasted without interruption for twenty-five years, is full of interest, revealing most vividly the conditions of Venetian life prior to the French Revolution. In the midst of these Gozzi stands as an arch-conservative, whose reaction to the radical ideas of the French philosophers, infiltrating into his native state, forms a strong undercurrent in the

[17] Except when otherwise stated, the première was in each case at Venice.

[18] *Memorie inutili,* II, Chap. IV.

[19] J. B. Magrini, *op. cit.,* p. 206.

[20] *Memorie inutili,* II, Chap. IV. Cf. Goldoni's *Memoirs.*

Memorie. A liaison which he had with the leading actress, Teodora Ricci, and the quarrels arising thence, which involved the voluntary exile and premature death of a Venetian Secretary of State, Antonio Pier Gratarol, as well as the slow disintegration of the troupe itself, caused him to sever connections with the comedians, to whom he had proved a loyal friend, a staunch supporter, and a generous Maecenas. Not content with having bestowed upon them his ten fiabe, he adapted for them a very large number of Spanish plays.[21]

The conclusion of his story is soon told. Radical political changes in his native state that were but a reflection of the dramatic events which were convulsing Europe, the influx of new ideas to the almost utter exclusion of all the ideals that he had held dear, and the gradual passing away of his friends and relatives, undermined his love of life. These changes and the startling rapidity with which his former dramatic successes fell into utter oblivion during and after the years of revolution, caused Gozzi to disapprove of all that had happened.[22] Alone, unhappy, attending to the minute details of daily existence, he spent the last years of life in obscurity and was released by death on April 4, 1806, at the ripe age of eighty-six. A true child of the Venice of his time, he embodied in himself and in his works the good and the bad qualities of the period: he was a loyal citizen, a brilliant if shallow writer, wholly wrapped up in the minutiae of his daily life and in literary strife, without showing any realization of the importance of the tremendous events which were shaking the very foundation of society. His chief aim was to provide amusement for his beloved Venetians, for the citizens of the already impotent Queen of the Adriatic, who

[21] The last of these, *Le droghe d'amore,* precipitated the Gratarol tragedy. Gozzi has a very full account of this episode in his *Memorie inutili,* which were written to serve as an apology and exoneration of the part played therein by the author.

[22] Cf. *Memorie inutili,* Part III; also Ernesto Masi, *Le fiabe,* Introduction, p. clxxxix.

cared nought for the wars, the distant thunder of which must have reverberated in their ears, but who garnered a childish pleasure from masks, festivals, banquets, and finally from the fiabe of Carlo Gozzi!

During the last years of the sixteenth century there appeared in Italy a type of dramatic art known as the Commedia dell' Arte all' Improvviso[23] which spread the reputation of Italian actors far beyond the confines of their native land. With the brilliance of a meteor this genre flashed upon the theatrical firmament—and disappeared almost as rapidly.

The two essential features of the Commedia dell' Arte are improvisation and fixed characters, known as *masks.* In 1567 the first company of professional comedians appeared in Mantua. They refused to adhere to the lines of a certain, definite text, preferring to give free rein to their inspiration. Within a prearranged framework which indicated their entrances and exits and outlined the principal ideas of each scene, they improvised their dialogue, the unexpected turns of which delighted their audiences. To understand how such a faculty of improvisation could be continued with constant variations by a troupe of actors, it must be borne in mind that each actor represented a fixed, given type, which was always the same; that he became one with it, that he could represent no other, and that he used its language, its dialect constantly. When a stock character was thus created, answering to some general or provincial type, and had gained the favor of the public, other actors, presenting similar characters in other troupes, would indorse it and adapt it for themselves, with modifications.[24]

[23] It was also known as the "commedia non scritta," "commedia a soggetto," "commedia improvvisa." Its common title was "Commedia dell' Arte," however. Cf. J. A. Symonds, introduction to the *Memoirs of Carlo Gozzi;* also, Henri Hauvette, *Histoire de la littérature italienne;* and Goldoni's *Memoirs.* Maurice Sand, *Masques et Bouffons,* gives the biographical data of many of the improvising actors.

[24] Cf. Henri Hauvette, *Histoire de la littérature italienne.*

Usually these masks were stock types of the various provinces of Italy. Thus arose "Pantalone," the worthy, shrewd, kindly, withal simple and childlike, Venetian merchant; thus the Bolognese "Doctor," the Italian prototype of Mrs. Malaprop, always ready to show off his erudition and always making the most preposterous errors. Bergamo supplied the twin brothers "Arlecchino" and "Brighella," the former lightheaded, gay, naïve, foolish, pliable, like quicksilver, always moving, and amusing the audience with his uncouth remarks. "Truffaldino," created by the great Sacchi, the delight of all who saw him, was but an adaptation of Arlecchino. His brother Brighella is more cunning and knavish; he is a rogue, a coward, yet clever. He became particularly popular in France where he gained fame as "Sganarelle," "Frontin," and finally attained immortality as "Figaro." Naples contributed "Pulcinella," the burlesque buffoon; stammering, dishonest "Tartaglia," developed advantageously by Gozzi; and that boisterous braggart, the "Captain."[25] All seven of these wore masks and had definite costumes. Tuscany furnished the lovers and the soubrette or servetta, a modification of which is the Venetian "Smeraldina," the witty, keen, deft maid. They, however, wore no masks, and assumed costumes in keeping with the characters they were impersonating.

Manifold were the variations to which these types lent themselves. Gozzi employed the following: kindly, shrewd Pantalone; crafty Tartaglia; knavish Brighella; the clown Truffaldino, and the *servetta* Smeraldina, whose character varies with the fables. Gozzi raised the status of the masks by making them integral parts of his fiabe instead of merely accidental fun-makers. He refined their character considerably: for instance, he changed Pantalone from a rascally merchant into a shrewd yet kindly personality occupying high

[25] These types were used effectively by Molière, Lesage, Beaumarchais, and others.

offices of state. He rendered all the masks more pleasing than they had been heretofore, and at the same time made them the vehicle of his satire as well as of his didactic purpose. As his mouthpieces, yet quite in keeping with their character, they were able to discharge many a mordant shaft of satire which pierced the weak points in the armor of his adversaries. His method of procedure is shown in the subsequent synopsis of *L'amore delle tre melarance*.[26]

Each of these comic actors had a repertoire of phrases, sentences, maxims, puns and tirades, corresponding to the type he was impersonating; to these were added contemporary allusions, to preserve the better the appearance of improvisation. Yet, in spite of these aids, this type of performance exacted the constant exercise of particular qualifications which were by no means easy to command.

From the scenarios which have come down to us it is impossible to reconstitute the vividness of color and vigor of action which marked these entertainments. It is, however, possible to deduce from them the fact that the impromptu comedy was the heir of both classical comedy and popular farce.[27] The captain, for instance, combined traits of the "Miles gloriosus" of Latin comedy with those of the swaggering, swash-buckling Spanish soldiers, the originals of which were swarming all over Italy in the sixteenth century.

The great popularity of the Commedia dell' Arte, which embraced the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, is to be attributed to the real talent of the artists who impressed their personalities upon the various masks: as did, later on, the chief members of the Sacchi troupe. These traveling companies carried their repertoires all over Europe, from Vienna to Madrid, from Munich to London. By degrees, however, the actors of genius were replaced by vulgar mountebanks, simple clowns, who, without

[26] See below, pp. 11-15.

[27] J. B. Magrini, *op. cit.*, p. 161 ff.

trying to maintain an artistic ideal, were content to make their rude public laugh at their stupidities. Rapidly this type of comedy declined to the lowest ebb and practically vanished[28] with the passing of the old régime.

It was for one of the most brilliant of these groups of impromptu actors, united under their Capocomico, Antonio Sacchi, that Carlo Gozzi composed his Fiabe. As the plots of these will be discussed and referred to continually throughout the following pages, it may not be amiss to relate in some detail the contents of those which play an important rôle in German theatrical history.

The first, perhaps the most brilliant, and certainly the most spontaneous, is *L'amore delle tre melarance,* which exists only in the scenario outlined by Gozzi. He chose this as the most puerile of fairy-tales to prove his contention that he could crowd a house and amuse an audience with an old wives' tale.[29]

Silvio, the powerful King of Spades, attired like his prototype on the playing card, speaks with his minister Pantalone, lamenting that his only son Tartaglia, impersonating Venetian audiences, is dying of consumption and boredom. The doctors have given up all hope of recovery if he does not laugh in the very near future. The King therefore orders Leandro, Knight of Spades, his prime minister, to organize public celebrations, offering a prize to anyone who will move the melancholy prince to mirth. But ambitious Leandro, who loves and is loved by Clarice, the niece of the King and incidentally a parody on Chiari's Princesses,[30] hopes with the

[28] Goethe saw the last members of the Sacchi troupe while in Italy. Cf. below, p. 54.

[29] J. A. Symonds gives a complete translation in this fiaba in his *Memoirs of Count Carlo Gozzi.* For bibiographical data, see Bibliography, Part III, below.

[30] For instance in such plays as *La presa di Troia; Filosofa ed avventure della Marchesa; L'inganno amoroso,* etc.

aid of martellian verse[81] received from the Fairy Morgana, to cause the lingering death of Tartaglia, and thus to succeed to the royal throne. Princess Clarice, however, goes into a rage when she finds out that Truffaldino, representing the impromptu comedy, is at court, because she fears that his tricks and absurd appearance will rouse the Prince's laughter. Brighella secretly informs the two intriguers that Truffaldino has been sent to the Court by the magician Celio (Goldoni), the enemy of Morgana (Chiari), and the friend of the King of Coppe. The enmity of Morgana and Celio voices the literary feud between Chiari and Goldoni. The lovers are overwhelmed by this news; Clarice proposes poison, fire and sword to kill the Prince, Leandro advocates martellian verse or opium; whereupon Clarice avers that martellian verse and opium are one and the same thing!

The scene shifts to the hypochondriac Prince's apartment. He is seen in the midst of ointments, flasks and spittoons, complaining bitterly of his condition. While Truffaldino is diagnosing the sick man's malady in his own inimitable fashion, sounds of revelry are heard from afar. In spite of all protests, Truffaldino insists on carrying the doleful Prince on his back to the public festivals. Amid varied and graceful scenes the Fairy Morgana, the Queen of Hypochondria, in the garb of an old woman, comes forth to fill a flask at the fountain. Truffaldino upsets her so that she falls very awkwardly and the Prince, breaking into loud and long laughter, is cured. But the Fairy Morgana curses him in martellian verse and arouses in him an intense, irresistible desire to possess the mythical three oranges.

In order to traverse the necessary two thousand miles for the conquest of the oranges, the Prince and Truffaldino procure enormous iron boots and are fully armed. In vain the

[81] The martellian verse is a twelve-syllable line, somewhat like the Alexandrine, owing its name to Pier Jacopo Martelli (1665-1725), who tried, unsuccessfully, to revive it.

King attempts to dissuade them from their undertaking. Weeping and cursing he blames the new comedies for the disobedience of his son.[32] Leandro and Clarice plan how they will spend their time when they reign and each of these plans is a thrust at one of the popular playwrights. Brighella meanwhile upholds the Commedia dell' Arte and the masks.

A new scene opens upon a desert. The magician Celio, the protector of Prince Tartaglia, obliges the Devil Farfarello to appear before him. Their conversation is full of veiled allusions to the two poets who wished to suppress the masks, scenic transformations and incantations. Having heard the ill news concerning his protégé, Celio determines to save Tartaglia at all costs. The latter and Truffaldino suddenly rush forth upon the stage at full speed, urged by a devil who pushes them forward with a pair of bellows.[33] Celio, after vainly trying to restrain the Prince from continuing the enterprise, upon seeing that he is inflexible, provides him with a magical salve to rub upon the gate, which he will find rusty; with bread for the starved dog; with brooms for the baker's wife who sweeps the oven with her breasts; recommends that he stretch out the damp well-rope to the sun, and admonishes him not to open the oranges unless he be near a fountain. With the help of the bellows, our heroes soon arrive at the Court of Creonta, the custodian of the three oranges. When the gate is greased, it opens; the starved dog is appeased with the bread; the cord is dried; the baker's wife has received the necessary brooms, and the

[32] As a matter of fact, in one of Chiari's tragedies, a son has drawn his sword against his father with intent to kill. Gozzi makes this statement near the beginning of Act II. He does not specify in which play this incident occurs.

[33] This is once more a parody on Chiari, who had made some of his characters take enormous trips in ridiculously short spaces of time. In one of his plays, *Ezelino,* he lets his hero cover thirty miles of ground, defeat the enemy, take the city of Treviso and return, in the interval between two scenes of the same act, and has him attribute this extraordinary feat to the spirit and dash of his horse!

Prince happily gains possession of three tremendous oranges. Creonta, enraged, vainly calls upon her recreant henchmen to assist her, utters a wild lament and curse in Pindaresque verse, *à la Chiari,* and is consumed by a flash of lightning.

At the beginning of the third act, Truffaldino, still pursued by the blowing devil, comes running, carrying the three oranges in a bag. He is tormented by extraordinary hunger and thirst, and resolves to eat one of the three oranges, thinking that he can buy another for two cents. Imagine his surprise, when, instead of orange-juice, a beautiful maiden clad in white, issues from the rind, and implores him to give her something to drink or she will die. Truffaldino, in his haste to succor her, fails to see the lake nearby, and resolves to open the second orange to alleviate her thirst, only to have another maiden come forth! Both die of thirst. The Prince arrives, and seeing that the third orange has grown to the size of a pumpkin, opens it and finds a third parched maiden. Of greater presence of mind than his servant, Tartaglia quickly fills with water one of his iron boots and presents it to the Princess, and thus restores the daughter of Concul, King of the Antipodes, condemned with her sisters by cruel Creonta to suffer within the narrow confines of an orange. An amusing love scene between the Prince and Princess Ninetta follows. Swearing that he will marry her at once, he rushes forth to his father's court to complete the necessary arrangements.

Meanwhile, at the behest of Morgana, Smeraldina, in the guise of a Moor, fixes a charmed hairpin into Ninetta's head, which transforms her into a graceful dove. She flies off, while Smeraldina takes her place. The court arrives in all splendor. In dismay the Prince sees the Moor in place of his beautiful Ninetta, but he is forced to abide by his word. Great are the preparations for the wedding feast. Truffaldino has become the royal cook.

A scene between Celio and Morgana is interpolated, cari-

caturing the two rival poets, in which the former uses the forensic language suitable to an ex-lawyer—Goldoni's former profession—and the fairy employs the pseudo-sublime style affected by Chiari. This scene afforded the Venetian audience the most genuine amusement.

The rest of the performance followed the fairy tale closely. Thrice Truffaldino lets the roast burn at the behest of the dove. Finally, however, he and Pantalone succeed in catching it. They find and remove the magic hairpin, and Ninetta once more appears in her natural form. The court, impatient for the next course, enters the kitchen, and the King, scepter in hand, orders Tartaglia and Ninetta to retire to the scullery. Using the hearth as his throne, he condemns Smeraldina to the flames. Celio, however, defends her because she was but a tool of the two real culprits, Leandro and Clarice, whose condemnation he causes. He exhorts Truffaldino to keep far from the Court all martellian verse and its corrupt influence and to amuse his audience with his ready wit and unfailing humor. And at the completion of the marriage feast, all were prepared to live happy ever after.

The stupendous success of the fiaba just outlined has already been pointed out. The plot has been sketched in detail, because incidents drawn thence are mentioned continually in the following pages.

L'amore delle tre melarance was followed by *Il corvo,* based on a tale with the same title from the *Cunto de li cunti,* a collection of fairy-tales by Giambattista Basile.[34] For this play as well as for the following fiabe Gozzi wrote all the lines in full, with the exception of those to be spoken by the masks. These were left in outline, as was customary.[35]

[34] Giambattista Basile (1575-1632) was a native of Naples. He began his career as a military adventurer, but later entered the service of the court of Stigliano Carafa. Urged by the example of Julio Cesare Cortese, he became interested in Neapolitan dialectic literature, and collected fairy tales under the above title.

[35] Cf. p. 8.

The masks spoke in prose, while the rest of the play was written in verse.

In order to save his brother Millo, King of Frattombrosa, from a tragic fate, Gennaro, disguised as a merchant, kidnaps Armilla, the daughter of a powerful prince and magician, Norando. The princess was to bring cheer to the kingdom of Frattombrosa and its ruler, who, while hunting, had killed a raven belonging to an ogre. Armilla was as white as the marble which formed the tomb of the raven; red as the blood of the dead bird; and her eyebrows and hair were as black as its wing. When Norando becomes aware of his daughter's abduction, he falls into a rage: he threatens every ill imaginable, produces tremendous storms and brings about the transformation of Gennaro into a marble statue. Armilla generously kills herself in order to restore him to life. Thereupon, all fates having been propitiated, Norando restores his daughter to life and love, and the kingdom to happiness.

Gennaro furnishes a fine example of brotherly love. For Millo's sake he scours the seas, abducts a maiden, faces the wrath of Norando, and finally endures insults, imprisonment and death. Armilla, though loving her husband ardently, kills herself to resuscitate the unfortunate Gennaro rather than live selfishly with her beloved Millo. There are other fine instances of dramatic interest in this fiaba, such as Gennaro's and Armilla's arrival at court and Millo's outburst of jealous wrath against his brother, who had penetrated by night into the nuptial chamber to fight a monster who was to kill the king. Nor are satiric stabs at Chiari and Goldoni lacking.

This fiaba was succeeded by *Il re cervo*.[36] King Deramo received from the magician Durandarte two gifts, each one

[36] Its source is the "Histoire du Prince Fadlallah, fils du Bon Roi de Mouvel" in the *Cabinet de fées,* Amsterdam, 1785, XIV, 242. Cf. G. B. Magrini, *op. cit.,* p. 206.

invested with a secret charm. The first was a small statue which had the magic power of laughing at any woman standing in front of it who tells a lie, and thus of revealing her real feelings to the possessor of the statue. The king uses it to find an honest, loving wife, and in an exhaustive search some 2,750 maidens fail to pass the test. Finally Angela, the daughter of Pantalone, is found to be sincere, to the great vexation of Minister Tartaglia, who wants her for himself. While hunting, Deramo reveals to Tartaglia the secret of Durandarte's second gift. It consists in a strange verse which, if recited over any dead body, causes the soul of him who pronounces it to pass into the corpse. In order to test the magic of the verse, Tartaglia induces Deramo to recite the magic line near the corpse of a deer and thus to transform himself into an animal, giving Tartaglia the opportunity to pass into the king's fair form. In this guise he hopes to betray Angela, yet his change of shape cannot alter his voice nor his sentiments, and Angela at once grows suspicious. Deramo meanwhile passes from the body of the deer into that of a feeble old man. Durandarte in the shape of a parrot has himself presented as a gift to the queen. Tartaglia, the usurper of the throne, cannot win Angela, who, aided by the magician, recognizes her husband in the old man. Tartaglia consequently is changed into a repulsive monster and Deramo resumes his own body. Again happiness reigns supreme.

Following the enthusiastic reception of this fairy-tale, the next work of Gozzi to be staged was *Turandot,* later to become the favorite of the Germans. Its story is briefly as follows:

Prince Calaf, reduced to the ignoble position of porter and servant, earns a scanty living for himself and his parents who, owing to a dreadful war, have lost their kingdom and become exiles. Through the return to a powerful sultan of his pet falcon, Calaf has obtained for them a comfortable

shelter for their old age. Still quarrelling with fortune, he seeks to ameliorate his lot by fighting under the banner of the Emperor of China. By chance he meets Barach, formerly his tutor, who recognizes him, and who informs him of an immense misfortune which has stricken Pekin. Turandot, the daughter of the Emperor of China, in order to avoid the marriage yoke, has consecrated herself to eternal maidenhood. The Emperor, now growing old and embroiled in war with many kings and princes whose hands Turandot has refused, has been trying to induce her to choose a husband for reasons of state. She finally swears by the great Confucius to marry that prince who succeeds in solving before the Great Divan three riddles which she should propound. Every prince, however, who ventured the trial and failed was to submit to decapitation. Barach shudderingly points out the heads of her former suitors, strung along the walls of the city. Calaf, by mere chance, picks up her portrait and immediately becomes wildly enamored of her. He submits himself at once for trial, in spite of the entreaties of Barach and his wife not to expose himself to certain death.

Act II sees the gathering of the Great Divan. Emperor Altoum, prepossessed by Calaf's charm and personality, vainly attempts to dissuade him from his fatal enterprise, and the great dignitaries of the court second his efforts without avail. Even Turandot herself, struck by Calaf's beauty and appearance, tries to stay his boldness. The Prince is inflexible in his determination, repeating to each argument: "Death I claim or Turandot as wife." Haughty and scornful as she is, Turandot faints in the arms of her faithful slaves when Calaf speedily solves her three riddles. Recovering, she threatens to kill herself upon the altar, rather than submit to an abhorrent marriage. Calaf calms her when he again stakes his life upon the proposition: If on the following day, in the presence of the Divan, she guesses his name, he will forfeit his life and claim upon her; otherwise she is to marry him.

Adelma, a king's daughter, but at present slave to Turandot through fortune of war, recognizes in the Prince the gardener loved secretly by her at her father's court. She exults when she discovers that he is of noble birth and determines to save him from death and to marry him. To attain this, however, she must discover his name for Turandot, who is beside herself, torn between pride and budding love.

All artifices employed to elicit the stranger's name remain fruitless, as do the attempts of a number of slaves sent under various pretexts to the Prince himself. As a last resort Adelma tries to entrap him herself. She enters the apartment, reveals her love openly to him, and tries to persuade him to flee. But Calaf spurns her love and generous offers, for he is capable of fixing his affections upon one woman only. Becoming insanely jealous of Turandot, Adelma insinuates that the Princess, afraid of being again vanquished by him, has ordered his guards to assassinate him at daybreak. Utterly brokenhearted at such perfidy, the Prince exclaims: "O miserable Calaf! . . . Timur, my father!" Thus he has revealed his secret without being aware of it. His fate rests with Adelma.

Again the Great Divan has assembled. Emperor Altoum is full of joy, for he has discovered by means of couriers the lineage of Calaf, and he has great hope for the prosperity of his kingdom under such a son-in-law. But Turandot, who arrives to the sound of a funeral march, reveals the Prince's name. On hearing this, Calaf draws forth a dagger to slay himself, but is restrained by Turandot, who, suddenly throwing herself into his arms, reveals her love, to the joy of all who hear her confession.

Such is the argument of the fiaba which proved one of the most popular in Germany and was destined to be adapted by Schiller himself. Twice later did Gozzi use the motif of the woman averse to marriage: in *La principessa filosofa,* in which Teodora is subdued by the seeming coldness of Cesare of Urghel, and in *La donna contraria al consiglio,* in which

the heroine is restrained from marrying because she has vowed eternal fidelity to her dead fiancé. The former of these has, as we shall see, retained its popularity in Germany to the present day.

For the rest of the fiabe it will be sufficient to indicate the contents in outline.[37]

In *I pitocchi fortunati* the poet shows to what wretchedness a kingdom can be reduced through the administration of unfaithful ministers. A wise king, in order to discover the true state of his subjects, abandons his throne and becomes a beggar and a priest. Thus the iniquities committed in his name are revealed to him. *La donna serpente* and *Il mostro turchino* are examples of conjugal fidelity and love in a world full of strange apparitions and monsters. *Zeim, re de' genj* lauds the constancy, innocence, and faith of a woman. *La zobeide* shows the unhappy fate of an unsuspecting woman married to a fiendish magician, Sinadab, a villain who outbluebeards Bluebeard. Finally there is the fiaba of *L'augellino belverde,* virtually a continuation of *L'amore delle tre melarance,* treating of the twin children of Tartaglia and Ninetta. Under the evil influence of Tartagliona, the queen dowager, the twins were exposed and were saved from certain death only through the kindhearted intervention of Smeraldina, the wife of Truffaldino, the pork-butcher. When they are grown, they prove to be the ungrateful disciples of the philosophers. It is not until human sympathy and love melt their stony hearts that the truth is revealed and all are made happy. Gozzi used this last of his fiabe as the vehicle to express his scorn for the revolutionary ideas which were agitating Europe during the decade preceding the general upheaval.

These are the fiabe which created a furore in Venice between the years 1761 and 1765, and were in the following decades hailed so joyfully in Germany and Austria.

[37] Cf. Bibliography for Italian editions of the fiabe.

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF GOZZI TO THE GERMAN STAGE

It was not until a decade had passed that the plays of Carlo Gozzi, so jubilantly acclaimed by his fellow countrymen, began to be produced in Germany and Austria. The first presentation, so far as shown in the stage literature of the day, was in Vienna. It was that of *Il puntiglio amoroso, "ein komisches Singspiel in drei Aufzügen, die Worte sind vom Grafen Gozzi, die Musik von Herrn Galuppi, sonst Buranello genannt."*[1] Twice during 1774 it was produced in the Theater am Kärnthner Tor, and three times in the famous Burgtheater.[2]

This libretto,[3] printed in Venice, is in Italian, and bears no author's name. Some authorities would attribute it to Gasparo Gozzi,[4] but even though the style of composition differs greatly from that of the fiabe, there is no doubt that, if it was written by either of the Gozzi brothers, its author was Carlo. The plot is that which he later used for *La principessa filosofa,* and is based on a play by Augustín Moreto y Cabaña, *Il desdén con el desdén.*

Moreto's drama is considered by many eminent Spanish to be the best Spanish comedy extant.[5] Its theme is that love reigns supreme in the world, in spite of all sophism

[1] *Almanach des Theaters in Wien,* Wien, 1774.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Acknowledgment for the loan of the little book is hereby made to the Library of Congress in Washington, which was fortunate enough to obtain possession of the text when it purchased the Schatz Collection of Opera Librettos.

[4] Schatz and Wotqueme uphold Carlo Gozzi, while Wiel and Piovano leave the matter open. Schatz Collection 3507. *Catalogue of Opera Librettos before 1800.* Ed. Sonneck. U. S. Library of Congress, I, 906.

[5] Cf. *Colección de piezas escogidas,* formada por Don Eugenio Ochoa, 1840, Paris. IV, 63.

to the contrary. The plot is as follows: The Count of Barcelona has an only daughter, Diana. He wishes her to marry in order that he may leave his estates in the hands of a worthy successor. He organizes, therefore, a tournament, the splendor of which attracts many of the young princes of Europe. To his great sorrow he finds, however, that all his plans are frustrated through Diana's avowed intention never to marry because she hates all men on the ground that knowledge is divine but that love is human, frail, and unworthy of the truly great. In despair her father tells three of the assembled suitors that they are but wasting their time in fruitless endeavor, that Diana's mind is adamant. The three princes, however, are unwilling to accept their dismissal for various reasons: each one thinks that if but given the right opportunity he can win the proud beauty. The Princes of Béarne and Foix frankly base their claim upon their personal charm and wit. Prince Carlos de Urgel, on the other hand, assumes an air of calm indifference. His plan to win the princess reveals a more profound knowledge of human psychology than that of the other two aspirants. Having himself been roused to passion from cool unconcern by the haughty demeanor of Diana and seeing that homage has no effect upon her whatsoever, he makes up his mind to conquer her philosophy by assuming an attitude of scornful aloofness which will wound her vanity. When, therefore, the other suitors declare their intention of remaining, he states that he stays merely to satisfy the etiquette of the day, as contention for the favor of the lady has no attraction for him. Meanwhile he has sent his servant Polilla, the "gracioso," to enter the service of the princess, disguised humorously as a doctor and posing as the sworn enemy of love. An interview is granted by Diana to the princes in which she sets forth her argument with disputatious casuistry. Here Prince Carlos piques her curiosity when he accedes to her views; nay, even goes further than she by asserting that not only does he refuse to love any woman,

but that he does not desire to be loved by one. For the first time in her life Diana has met a man who apparently is impervious to her charms. The experience is distinctly unpleasant. Her pride is aroused, her interest is awakened; she feels that she must vanquish him at any cost. She makes attempt after attempt to break down the impenetrable barrier with which he surrounds himself as with an armor; so great is Don Carlos' self-control that, abetted by his faithful Polilla, he deceives her entirely with regard to the true state of his feelings. Furious, helpless, unable to cope with the glacial nature of this man, Doña Diana finds finally to her great consternation as the result of trying to arouse his jealousy that she loves him with all the ardor of which she is capable. When, therefore, he pretends to aspire to the hand of her cousin, she feels all the tortures and torments of jealousy and yields to Don Carlos who is now free to declare his love and stratagem to her. Of the other two, Prince Gaston de Foix is the only one to go empty-handed, for the Prince of Béarne wins Diana's cousin, Doña Cintia, while her maid Laura makes Polilla happy. Thus pride was vanquished by greater pride.

In *Il puntiglio amoroso,* which follows on the whole the plot of the Spanish comedy as outlined above, the heroine, Rosanna, like Doña Diana, declares war on love:

> Se foste nell' amar solo contento
> Seguace forse anch' io sarei d'amore;
> Ma poi dolore,
> Ma poi furore
> Causa degli uomini
> L'infedelità.
> Povere femmine
> Chi non lo sa![6]

Like Moreto's Prince Carlos, the handsome hero, Florimonte, in order to win her, pretends to scorn her. This arouses her interest in him and finally leads to her surrender.

[6] *Il puntiglio amoroso,* Venezia, Valvasense, 1763.

The secondary characters, Ernesto and Melita, who correspond to Don Gaston and Doña Cintia, two minor characters in the original Spanish version, have here greater significance. Melita is the silly, jealous flirt; Ernesto a fool. They thus act as foils to the principal characters. The maid Laura of the Spanish play has become a typical French "Lisette" (in fact, she is called Lisetta), and the father of Rosanna is in love with her. She, however, scorns him for Giannino, the innkeeper, who has retained many of the characteristics of the "gracioso." The main facts of the plot have undergone little change, though the milieu is very much lower than that of the Spanish comedy.

It seems strange that, if Carlo Gozzi was really the author of this production, it should not have been included among his collected plays. It is also not clear why the devoted advocate of the Commedia dell' Arte, in writing a play for the Carnival of 1763 should have omitted all the masks with the exception of Arlecchino, for it was just at this time that the clever Venetian, at the height of his success, was indeed engaged in writing *La zobeide,* which was produced in August of the same year. The style, also, of the libretto differs essentially from Gozzi's style as he reveals it in the fiabe or in his adaptations from the Spanish. It has none of that grandiose language, none of the plastic imagery which is so pronounced in his other work. The motivation of the action is extremely poor, and psychological analysis is entirely lacking. The libretto is very much under the influence of the French *opéra comique,* yet Gozzi at that very time was heaping derision upon the French influence.

On the other hand, the libretto has a charm of its own. The dialogue is in poetry of the rhythmic quality and lightness of the comic opera, of that type of Italian play which Goethe tried to introduce in his "Singspiel," in which the rhythm of the poetry echoes exactly that of the music, or vice versa, so that the reader who has not the music can

still judge it pertinently by the words. There is none of the mocking satire of Gozzi; everything is accepted naturally, as is customary in such plays.

It must be assumed then that, if the play is by Carlo Gozzi at all, it was written some time before its publication. It seems very much more likely, however, that Gozzi did not write the text. The identity of plots may then have been the reason why the Vienna "Intendanz" ascribed the operetta to the widely advertised Venetian poet, particularly because Gozzi's play *La principessa filosofa* had been staged in Venice successfully in Italian two years before the appearance of this little book.

In 1775 one of the greatest of German authors, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, while traveling in Italy, became interested in the works of Gozzi. A writer in Reichardt's *Theaterjournal* two years later makes the statement that, while in Venice, "Lessing saw *L'amore delle tre melarance* five times, and it was always different, never the same, owing to the peerless acting of the Sacchi troupe. He was irresistibly moved by the original humor and national grace of the Gozziesque masks."[7] Whence this information had been derived it has been impossible to discover. It is not to be found anywhere in Lessing's works or letters. He does, however, record some interest in the Sacchi troupe, for, in the diary of his trip through Italy, two notices regarding it are to be found. Thus, in Pavia, under date of September 9, 1775, he wrote: "Sacchi was in Pavia, he had gone thither with his company from Torino; he played, however, only a farce that evening, for which we did not wait."[8] In his notes on the *Geschichte des italienischen Theaters* he again refers to Sacchi: "In addition to the troupe of Sacchi, which

[7] Reichardt's *Theaterjournal für Deutschland,* Wien, May 21, 1777. Cf. Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 217.

[8] *Lessings Werke, Deutsche National Litteratur,* ed. Lachmann, XIV, 401.

is considered the best, there is another, il capo dei quali è il Lapi, which is said to be quite good also. Of Sacchi's troupe, which is at present in Torino, I have received the following list."[9] Then follow the names of the actors of the company as it was in its prime, including the famous Antonio Sacchi himself; his daughter Angiola; Zanoni, the incomparable Brighella; Fiorilli, who immortalized Tartaglia; and the notorious actress Teodora Ricci, who figures so largely in this part of Gozzi's life. Strange to say, Lessing does not mention once in these notes Carlo Gozzi, though he refers to him in his letters after his return to Germany. From Wolfenbüttel he sent the first volume of Gozzi's works to Eschenburg.[10] A few weeks later he wrote more fully concerning our author to his brother Karl Lessing, in an attempt to dissuade him from undertaking to translate Italian works into German:

> In addition, all others (apart from Albergati) who now write comedies in Italy use their provincial dialects, in which they let the humble characters of their plays speak: Gozzi, for instance, uses Venetian, Carloni the Neapolitan. How you will make out with these, I fail to see. Are you not aware of the fact that the complete theatrical works of Carlo Gozzi are being translated in Switzerland? They have been announced in the *Gothaische Gelehrte Zeitung.* A collection of modern Italian plays without these would cut a very poor figure.[11]

The translation referred to by Lessing was that of Friedrich August Clemens Werthes, who rendered into German in five volumes the dramatic works of Carlo Gozzi. This version, which began to appear in 1777 and was completed in 1779,[12] gained great credit for the translator during the last

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 417 f.

[10] G. E. Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften,* Leipzig, XVIII, 153.

[11] *Ibid.*, XVIII, 161.

[12] Friedrich August Clemens Werthes, *Theatralische Werke von Carlo Gozzi, aus dem Italiänischen übersetzt.* Bern, bey der typographischen Gesellschaft. 1777-1779. In fünf Theilen.

two decades of the eighteenth century, and is still the only complete German text. It has been reviewed in detail by Köster,[13] who praises Werthes' fidelity in adhering to the sense of the original, but censures his use of prose instead of the sonorous verse of Gozzi. In spite of this, however, the translator has managed to reproduce the plastic, concrete quality of Gozzi's work, with something of the graphic style and the supernatural atmosphere of the fiabe.

The notice in the *Gelehrte Zeitung,* referred to by Lessing, concerning the approaching publication of the first part of Werthes' translation, a "Notice to the Public," was a modest announcement, with a sketch of the Goldoni-Gozzi feud.[14] The translation apparently aroused immediate interest. Scarcely a year after the notice just mentioned, a most enthusiastic review of the second part was published by the *Berliner Litteratur und Theater Zeitung:*

> Gozzi is still admired by the Italians . . . . that Gozzi still maintains his place and has maintained it in spite of the intrigues of the Chiaris and Goldonis and is still the favorite of the nation, serves as a proof that his deserts as dramatist must be real. And so it is, in fact—Gozzi is still the man of genius and power, still has the keen penetrating glance into the human heart, still furnishes his dialogue with wit and vivacity. We have enjoyed thoroughly the second part of his works. . . . . We continue to recommend this Gozzi for study to our young playwrights.[15]

This enthusiasm grew with the issuance of the third part, and is echoed in the same journal twenty-two months later. It begins:

> Gozzi is still our man . . . . we are full of admiration for the powerful mind of this man, which he used to collect, arrange, and execute his trivial subjects; . . . . how truthfully,

[13] A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 163 ff, where the details regarding Werthes' personality are to be found.

[14] *Gothaische Gelehrte Zeitung,* April 17, 1776.

[15] *Berliner Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* February 7, 1778.

how powerfully this poet permits the creations of his fancy to speak!—What is born of the flesh, is flesh, and what is born of the spirit, is spirit!—Perhaps some smile at our fervor!—We cannot help but wish, however, that many of our dramatic writers would read Gozzi immediately after Shakespeare.[16]

The reviewer of the fourth volume continues to glow with enthusiasm: "Gozzi is a man worthy of reverence,"[17] whose "dialogue should surely serve as model to all dramatists: it is strong, fitting, concise, yet vivacious; never does he indulge in stiff, moralizing language, for grand, correct, and splendid as his views may be, he merely outlines them in a few words; even as the art of dramatic poetry demands."[18]

Apparently the faults of Werthes' method and performance to which Köster calls attention were not felt by contemporaries. In reviewing the fifth and final volume of the translation, the Berlin critic writes: "Werthes' manner of translation is known: it is not the most flexible, but recalls to us the real Italian language, and gives an idea of the tone of the author even to that reader who does not understand the original, and therefore deserves to be called good."[19] So popular did Werthes' translation prove, that it justified the printing of a second edition in 1795. Its great drawback was, however, that it was meant for the reading public only. This affected primarily the treatment of the Italian masks, whose words were largely left to the "improvvisatori" by Gozzi. Since the art of improvising had completely died out in Germany, it was evident that these parts had to be worked out in detail for stage production.

Many and varied were the adaptations for the stage to which Werthes' translations gave rise. The first of these was a play called *Hermannide oder die Räthsel. Ein alt-*

[16] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1778. Quoted in part by A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg*, p. 218.

[17] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1780. [18] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1780. [19] *Idem.*

fränkisches Märchen in fünf Aufzügen,[20] by Johann Friedrich Schmidt, Councillor to the Duke of Weimar, who, in response to a prize contest for original plays sponsored by the directorate of the Court Theatre of Vienna, adopted Gozzi's *Turandot* for this purpose. Schmidt changed the scene of action from the Orient to Franconia, the characters from Chinese nobles to Teutonic heroes. Though the plot is kept intact, the tone of the entire play has become too serious and stilted. All traces of humor, so necessary to Gozzi's type of drama, have disappeared with the removal of the four masks; that elfin touch of lightness which is the chief charm of the original has vanished entirely. One addition made by Schmidt was most disastrous: that of the Prologue, in which, in a vision, a priestess relates the entire plot, past, present, and future, thus making of the play proper but a repetition of what the audience knew already.

This play has been excellently reviewed by Köster,[21] who aptly describes Schmidt's style as "wild, hasty, abrupt," and finds that the arbitrary shortening of the last acts of the play causes a "wild confusion of emotions." "The original has been mutilated to the brevity of an epitome."[22] Köster also shows by internal evidence that Schmidt followed Werthes' translation, and that the original Italian version was unknown to him.[23] *Hermannide* was presented at intervals in Vienna and Berlin during the period of 1777-1779, after which it disappeared entirely from the stage.[24]

The great actor and playwright, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, whose keen vision immediately discerned the weakness of *Hermannide,* while recognizing the possibilities of *Turandot,* wrote from Hamburg in September, 1777, to his friend, Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter: "A propos of C. R.

[20] Johann Friedrich Schmidt, *Hermannide,* Wien, 1777. München, 1778.

[21] A. Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 169 ff.

[22] *Ibid.,* 171. [23] *Ibid.,* 172. [24] *Ibid.,* 174.

Schmidt (sic!), tell him that I shall turn his *Hermannide* back into *Turandot,* though keeping his dialogue. The play must have pomp, and the Frankish pomp of the fifth century really was not very great, at least it was not Chinese! And I shall have a ballet as finale: the wedding of Calaf and Turandot."[25] A few months later he is still absorbed in the same project: "After the *Merchant* I shall turn to *Turandot.* . . . There are comedies which are worthless as comedies but are extraordinarily good as operas. For instance, *Hermannide* as an opera would yield applause and good receipts; as a tragedy I should not like to spend fifty Taler on it."[26]

Nor was *Turandot* the only play to attract Schröder. A plan had been evolved by Gotter and Dalberg to persuade the composer Benda to write the musical score to Gozzi's *Corvo,* Schröder and Gotter to supply the libretto.[27] On September 18, 1777, in response to an inquiry to this effect from Gotter, the Hamburg director replied: "Am I thinking of the *Corvo* by Gozzi? I should say so! but not until next year."[28] However, Benda's indifference proved fatal to the project. The first adaptation of *Il corvo* was to wait for fifteen years.

It was neither *Turandot* nor *Il corvo* which was destined to be first chosen for a Gozzi production on the German stage, but *I pitocchi fortunati,* which, as *Die glücklichen Bettler,* was produced as the first original Gozzi drama in Germany on the stage of the Gotha Hoftheater, March 4, 1777.[29] Whether or not the five-act comedy produced in Gotha was the Schröder translation has not been determined. Köster thinks that the version is to be attributed to Gotter. This opinion has evidently not found general acceptance, for Ru-

[25] B. Litzmann, *Schröder und Gotter,* Hamburg, 1887, p. 57 f.
[26] *Ibid.,* 128. [27] *Ibid.,* 128. [28] *Ibid.,* 67.
[29] Richard Hodermann, *Geschichte des Gothaischen Hoftheaters,* p. 165.

dolf Schlösser, the biographer of Gotter, and chief authority on his work, passes this play over in perfect silence in the discussion of Gotter's works. Furthermore, there was staged in Hamburg, a few months later, a version of *Die glücklichen Bettler,* which Reichardt attributes to Schröder. Since an active correspondence was going on at this time between Schröder and Gotter, and Schröder in his letters demonstrates his interest in Gozzi, it may not be entirely wrong to assume that the Gotha production came from the fertile pen of Schröder and that, as in several other instances, Gotter collaborated to some extent. The only definite clue that has been found is an extract from a letter published in the *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* dated Gotha, March 10, 1778, in which the writer states: "Last week *Die glücklichen Bettler* by Gozzi was presented at the local Hoftheater, *with but few changes,* and was heartily acclaimed. This is the first theater among the Germans to present original Gozzi plays."[30] In view of this statement and of the fact that the biographers of neither of the directors mention this play, it may possibly have been the Werthes' translation, with a few alterations, which was played. Since at this time great interest was taken in the impromptu comedy, it is possible that actors improvised the mask-scenes as indicated by Gozzi himself. So far, the manuscript used for this performance has not been found, nor any direct reference to the version used. Until one or the other comes to light, this will remain a moot question. Owing to the permanent closing of the Gotha Hoftheater, the Gozzi comedy was performed only four times: March 4, March 13, August 21, 1778; and March 12, 1779.[31] In the meantime, the Weimar company had staged what we may assume to be this Schröder-Gotter version for a number of performances (cf. p. 43, below).

[30] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, April 4, 1778.

[31] Richard Hodermann, *Geschichte des Gothaischen Hoftheaters,* pp. 165, 167, 170.

While Gotter's share in *Die glücklichen Bettler* is extremely doubtful, the work served as an inspiration to him and as the source for his *Das Tartarische Gesetz,* an opera in two acts. Out of the complicated action of the Italian play, he drew a minor episode which he made the central plot of his work. In his announcement Gotter modestly says:

> An episode of *Die glücklichen Bettler* by Gozzi has furnished the material for this trifle. I thought I should find therein good situations for musical expression. If my feelings have not deceived me, and if I have used these situations according to their deserts, I hope I shall be able to comfort myself, upon regarding the play as a whole, with that indulgence which has heretofore been accorded to this type of drama. Gotha, August, 1778.[32]

The critic of the *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* in reviewing *Das Tartarische Gesetz,* answers Gotter:

> No trifle is this, such as the author modestly in his preface announces it to be, and such as musical comedies and dramas with music are wont to be, but a production of such value that we would gladly exchange it for a few of our sentimental pieces, which even to the very present are lauded without stint, and yet which, if examined closely, are of very slight dramatic value.[33]

The article gives a general review of the play and praises it very highly. It has been very carefully analyzed by Rudolf Schlösser in his life of Gotter.[34] He also discusses the performances given at various German theatres, such as Mannheim, Berlin, Hamburg, Hanau, and Weimar, and mentions the music written for the play by André, d'Antoine, and Benda. He does not, however, record the interesting fact that early in 1779 Hiller, the composer of *Das Grab des Mufti,* and Seydelmann, conductor of the orchestra at

[32] F. W. Gotter, *Das Tartarische Gesez,* Leipzig, Dyk, 1779.

[33] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, November 21, 1778.

[34] Rudolf Schlösser, *F. W. Gotter, Leben und Werke,* Hamburg und Leipzig, Moss, 1895.

Dresden, were already setting it to music;[35] nor does he discuss the performances which were staged in Bonn, in 1782,[36] nor in Stuttgart in 1783, the latter with Zumsteeg's music.[37] After Benda's fiasco in 1786, the work apparently disappears from the German stage, as no more references are found concerning it.

Gotter realized the charm of the Gozzi drama, yet at the same time appreciated the difficulties in trying to import into Germany the Italian masks, which, peculiar to the soil of Italy and a spontaneous outgrowth from it, could never be anything but a foreign, exotic bloom in the northern country. When he undertook, therefore, this time in collaboration with his friend Schröder, to reconstruct for a German audience Gozzi's *Doride,* he gave the work of the Venetian dramatist a radical revision. The German comedy was entitled *Juliane von Lindorak.* It was first produced on Schröder's stage in Hamburg on August 27, 1778, where it proved eminently successful. A year later it was printed and bound into the fourth volume of the *Hamburgisches Theater* and in 1780 it was reprinted in Vienna as a separate volume.[38]

In his biography of Gotter, Schlösser gives a detailed account of the plot of this play.[39] Suffice it to record here that the milieu was changed from Italy to Germany; that, while the plot, on the whole, was kept intact, certain incidents which would have wounded the sensibilities of an audience as well versed as the Germans in the art and etiquette of military life, were either eliminated or changed. What the

[35] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, February 27, 1779.

[36] *Theater Journal für Deutschland für 1782,* p. 103.

[37] *Ibid.,* 1783, p. 131. Heft 22, p. 56.

[38] F. W. Gotter, *Juliane von Lindorak. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Gozzi.* Aufgeführt im K. K. Nationaltheater. Wien, zu finden beim Logenmeister, 1780.

[39] *Rudolf Schlösser, Gotter, Leben und Werke,* pp. 295-96.

German adapters were unable to grasp, was that though Gozzi himself intended this play to be taken seriously, it was nevertheless written for the Sacchi troupe and for his Venetian audiences which had so enthusiastically acclaimed the fiabe. Therefore a certain fundamental, caustic but merry, spirit of impish mockery which marks Gozzi throughout his work could not be lacking in this play. How completely the two Germans failed to catch this spirit is strikingly apparent in the change which they made in the ending of the drama. Gozzi, with hidden laughter, thinks the villain sufficiently punished when he has to marry at the conclusion of the play the sister of the hero, to whom he had once paid his attentions and whom he had jilted later on. The finesse of this ending was entirely lost on the collaborators, who punished Saalheim with two years' incarceration in a fortress, with scarcely a hint at a wedding in the dim future! They were somewhat more successful in their treatment of the colonel, the rascally servant, and the nurse, who in the original are but the rough-and-ready captain, the Truffaldino, the Smeraldina of the Commedia dell' Arte thinly disguised, for in the garb which they assume in the German play these characters become the stock types of every stage.

Goethe, in the *Italienische Reise,* remarked that, since he had seen the Italians at home, he understood their predilection for long, rhetorical speeches in their plays,[40] the natural corollary of the remark being that his countrymen did not share this propensity. It was sound dramatic instinct therefore which caused Schröder and Gotter to shorten the Italian version considerably when they evolved their adaptation. Long expository speeches were reduced to the merely essential, which effect was further increased by shifting scenes from one act to another.

The character of Doris, the wife who passively acquies-

[40] *Werke,* Weimar, Bd. 30. Cf. below, p. 50.

ces in her husband's acts of injustice, is one that has come down from the early days of the Hindus and which found its supreme expression in Boccaccio's tale of the patient Griselda. Such a type must have appealed particularly to the conservative taste of Gozzi, who saw a very different standard of conduct among his countrywomen. The only thing which can make such a character bearable to the modern mind is a strict and consequent adherence to the subtle psychology of passive resistance, so fundamental to this type. In making her over into the German Juliane, this has been lost, as when for instance she opposes her sister-in-law with speeches that do not fit her character but coarsen it.

In a modern, twentieth century drama, *Juliane von Lindorak* would be an impossible heroine. At a time, however, which was ripe for the supersentimental, tearful plays of Iffland, the popularity of Gotter's production[41] was instantaneous and assured—for a few years at least. All over Germany *Juliane von Lindorak* was performed. In 1779 it was repeatedly staged at the Deutsche Schauspielhaus in Berlin,[42] in Hamburg,[43] and at the Hoftheater in Gotha;[44] in the following year it was in the repertoire of the Kurfürstliche Kölner Gesellschaft in Bonn;[45] that of the Bondini Gesellschaft in Leipzig,[46] and of the Burgtheater in Vienna;[47] and was repeated at the theatres of Berlin and Hamburg.[48]

[41] Köster erroneously ascribes the work of adaptation to Schröder and credits Gotter with a later revision.

[42] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* July 10, 1779. Also July 3.

[43] *Ibid.,* December 4, 1779. Also Comoedien Zettel, Hamburger Theater, November 13, 1779.

[44] R. Hodermann, *Geschichte des Gothaer Hoftheaters,* p. 167.

[45] Reichardt, *Theater Journal,* 1782, pp. 13, 56.

[46] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, May 13, 1780; also December, 1780.

[47] *Allgemeiner Theater Almanach von Jahr 1782,* bei Joseph Herold.

[48] Comoedien Zettel, of 1780, Hamburger Johanneum.

Emanuel Schikaneder even staged it among his spectacular monstrosities in Salzburg.[49] In 1781 in addition to the theatres mentioned above, where it maintained its place until 1788, the Schuch Gesellschaft carried it to Danzig;[50] and a year later audiences were enjoying it immensely in Riga, Erfurt, and Meiningen.[51] The Abt Gesellschaft played it in 1783 in Göttingen;[52] the Grossmanns repeated it in Cassel;[53] and the Thurn-Taxische Gesellschaft performed it repeatedly.[54] Beginning with 1784, however, its popularity commenced to wane; there was a slight recrudescence in 1786 in Bayreuth,[55] Hamburg, Mannheim, Vienna, and Munich; then it gradually disappeared from the boards for a number of years. Only one performance, that of October 27, in Weimar,[56] under the régime of Goethe, who retained it from the Bellomo repertoire, could be traced for the year 1791; then it vanishes entirely, with but a single revival at Bautzen in 1797.[57] Schlösser sums up the success of *Juliane von Lindorak* as follows: "The play spread from Schleswig to

[49] *E. K. Blümml, Aus Mozarts Freundes- und Familienkreis,* 1923.

[50] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, November 10, 1781.

[51] *Ibid.,* November 1782, and 1784.

[52] Reichardt, *Theater Journal,* Heft 22, pp. 114, 116.

[53] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* June 28, 1783.

[54] Reichardt, *Theater Journal,* Heft 22, p. 56.

[55] *Ephemeriden des Theaters und der Litteratur,* May 27, 1786.

[56] C. A. H. Burkhardt, *Das Repertoire des Weimarischen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung,* 1891, p. 138.

[57] *Journal für Theater und andere schöne Künste,* 1797, p. 273. In connection with this performance at Bautzen, December 8, 1797, it may be of interest to note that the company of Meddox made a fiasco of the play. A contemporary critic, Doctor Schmieder, writes: "The performance was horrible. Herr Meddox evidently wished to prove that through the wrong assignment of parts the best of dramas would have to fail." The writer continues to criticize the costumes of the actresses, which were evidently entirely out of place, and censures the Bohemian dialect of one of them, which continually interfered with the lines, as well as the manners and lack of etiquette on the part of all.

Hermannstadt, from Riga to Graz, and was even performed in Swedish in Gothenburg (1782). It was particularly popular in the eighties; with the beginning of the nineties it recedes more and more into the background."[58]

The immediate success of *Juliane von Lindorak* induced Gotter to rewrite another of Gozzi's plays, *Il secreto pubblico,* for the German stage. This appears in German dress as *Das öffentliche Geheimnis.* The première was performed on September 13, 1779, in the Hoftheater in Gotha[59] and was successful from the start. A contemporary critic who saw the first performance wrote to the *Berliner Litteratur und Theater Zeitung* that the verse was excellent, and he notes with satisfaction that "Herr Wieland was present at the performance."[60] Dyk, the Leipzig publisher, brought it out in Leipzig in 1781, and it was republished in Vienna in 1792.

The drama had had, indeed, a long history before receiving its German form. Many years later August Wilhelm Schlegel notes this in a review of the comedy: "*Das öffentliche Geheimnis* by Gotter after Gozzi—or to speak more exactly, for it is easy to prove that Gotter did not know . . . the Italian text—by Gotter after Werthes after Gozzi—and thereby we are not yet through with the word 'after.'" He adds that when the critics reproved Gozzi for having stolen the play from an earlier Italian author, the Venetian was able to demonstrate that the other had stolen it from the same source whence he himself took it, from the works of Calderón, where it is called *El Secreto a voces.*[61]

When the Spanish and the Italian versions of this play are compared, it becomes evident that Gozzi simplified it greatly. Thus he reduces clever anagrammatic arrangements of the "secreto" from the ingenious internal and double rhymes and obscure meanings to the simplest form, with but

[58] *Op. cit.,* p. 245.
[59] Schlösser, *op. cit.,* p. 247.
[60] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, October 9, 1779.
[61] *Theater Kritiken,* 1802. *Werke,* 1846, IX, 218.

one end-rhyme. To please his Venetian audience and to accommodate the Sacchi troupe, he introduced the four customary masks, for two of which he had to create new characters. Gotter, in his adaptation, again altered the Werthes translation to suit the circumstance of the stage for which he was writing, and in doing so, strangely enough, apparently without having known the Spanish version, at times approaches Calderón more closely than Gozzi in his direct translation. The plot has been excellently outlined by Schlösser in his life of Gotter[62] and therefore need not be analyzed here. Suffice it to say that the action of all the versions revolves around the love of the reigning Princess of Salerno for her secretary, who, in turn, is in love with a lady-in-waiting who reciprocates his affection. To make the circle complete, the Duke of Amalfi lavishes his unrequited affections upon the Princess. The jealousy of the latter causes her to lose her dignity sufficiently to bribe the secretary's servant Vito to spy upon his master. Vito, the typical "gracioso" of Spanish comedy, becomes under Gozzi's manipulations an Italian Truffaldino, and in Gotter's hands a very amusing, impudent servant, whose drollness keeps the audience perpetually in laughter. The play gains its title from the subterfuge which the lovers employ, of speaking to each other in verse upon a preconcerted sign, the first words of the lines comprising a hidden meaning intelligible only to the other. All ends happily when the princess, upon discovering the perfidy of the lovers, forgives them and, remembering her rank, accepts the hand of the Duke of Amalfi.

Gotter, in his version, changed the names of the masks without, however, changing their well-known, mask-like character. Thus his servant Vito aroused a storm of adverse criticism because he was really a mocking, Venetian Truffaldino in the guise of a German servant, whose unconventional behavior shocked the German audiences immensely. For instance, the critics of the *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung*

[62] R. Schlösser, *Gotter, Leben und Werke*, p. 247 f.

object violently to the degree of intimacy existing between the Duchess Flerida and the impertinent Vito. "I might wish," one of them exclaims,[63] "that the duchess had not chosen a servant for her confidant; Gozzi has forgotten himself greatly by doing that, although it might perhaps be excused on the plea that love makes us all equal." Reichardt himself, however, aware of the difference existing between Truffaldino and Vito, sensibly remarks that since the whole intrigue of the drama is based on the intimacy of the princess and Truffaldino, Gotter turned the latter into a common servant (Vito) hoping that thereby the sensibilities of the German public might suffer the less. The Germans, on the contrary, received quite a disagreeable impression. He reminds his reader that the scene is laid in Italy, and the spectator and reader must know how to adjust themselves to an Italian milieu. In Italy it is not unusual, but customary, to have Truffaldino play the confidant in comedies. But, he adds, "a common, capricious servant in the innermost confidence of his princess will always be objectionable."[64]

In the same year a most indignant outcry against the lack of conventional morality in the play was published by Herold in the Viennese *Allgemeiner Theater Almanach vom Jahre 1782*. Evidently, as in the case of *Juliane von Lindorak*, the elfish touch of Gozziesque mockery had entirely escaped the writer, who took the play quite seriously. The critic's arraignment is worth quoting at length:

> If the applause which this play has received from the local audience were a criterion of its value, we should consider this one of the best plays: it has been hailed with such acclaim! But, as frequently, this time too the loud applause is deceptive. Though the drama does not lack amusing situations and witty ideas, though it has many a good comical scene, yet it abounds in absurdities which even Gotter's masterly talent has not been able

[63] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung*, Berlin, July 15, 1780.
[64] *Ibid.*, March 23, 1782.

to remove. The most objectionable feature is certainly the intimacy of the Princess and the servant of her secretary, the indifference with which she endures the basest jokes. Laura's character becomes so despicable through the horrible abuse of the confidence which the good fool of a Princess bestows upon her, through her deception in not disclosing to Flerida the object of her love, simulating meanwhile devotion to her, that she loses our entire sympathy. I, for my part, were I in Federigo's (the secretary's) place, would never, never make up my mind to bestow my heart and hand upon so rascally a chambermaid, who is such a past mistress in the art of deception and always retains her presence of mind; if . . . . it is a question of deceit . . . . Federigo's character is scarcely any better. He, too, betrays his Princess in the basest manner and he really deserves harsh punishment for such bad behavior. The sudden change in the Princess, who bestows the man whom five minutes earlier she still loved so ardently upon the woman who has betrayed her confidence so grossly, is as improbable as it is unmotivated, and plainly takes place only to bring the play to a conclusion.[65]

Odd enough that writers in journals as important and prominent as those just cited should be of so dry-as-dust a temperament as to miss entirely the point of this charming comedy! One turns therefore with pleasure to the fine analysis of August Wilhelm Schlegel, who compares the Spanish, Italian, and German versions, somewhat to the detriment of the last. He criticizes the fact that though the play is written in prose, the lovers always address each other in verse in the presence of the princess, and finds this sudden, unjustified introduction of poetry unnatural and stilted. "Yet," he adds, *"Das öffentliche Geheimnis* is a comedy of such merit that, in spite of the destructive treatment it has received, it still affords great pleasure to the audience."[66]

How greatly does the point of view change in the course of a single century! In 1891, Albert Köster[67] sees the very

[65] *Allgemeiner Theater Kalender,* Wien, Joseph Herold, 1782.
[66] "Theater Kritiken" (1802), *Sämmtliche Werke,* VIII, pp. 218 ff.
[67] *Op. cit.,* p. 220.

mainspring of action in the much abused servant Vito, who by his listening and chattering governs the entire plot: "Like a shuttlecock he is thrown back and forth in unceasing motion between the two parties comprising the action."[68] Köster particularly admires the mercurial temperament with which Gotter has endowed Vito, his vivacious speech, witty repartees and merry impudence.

Das öffentliche Geheimnis had a very successful "run" on the various stages of Germany and Austria. After its first presentation at the Gothaer Hoftheater, it became part of the regular repertoire of the theatres of Hamburg[69] and Vienna:[70] at the former it remained at least until 1786,[71] at the latter until 1808.[72] It was given in Mannheim,[73] Meiningen,[74] Berlin,[75] Munich,[76] Königsberg,[77] Stettin,[78] and Bres-

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 220.

[69] "Comoedien Zettel des Theaters in Hamburg," in the archives of the Stadt-Bibliothek in Hamburg. "October 15, 1779. Mme. Rennschub as Princess acted very well herein." The *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung* states that the play partly pleased and in part was not liked. "To be sure, if a play by an Italian is regarded according to French rules, it is scarcely orthodox. For instance, even in an opera buffa the Gordian knot could not be cut in a more Alexander-like fashion than in the present instance." *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung.* December 18, 1779.

[70] *Allgemeiner Theater Almanach,* Wien, Herold, 1782; given six times: September 15, 16, 18, 20, October 8, December 6. Brockmann, Stephanie and Sacco took part in it.

[71] "Comoedien Zettel," Hamburg.

[72] Otto Rub, *Das Burgtheater, 1776-1913.*

[73] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* Berlin, V, March 10, 1787.

[74] *Theater Journal für Deutschland,* 1782, p. 70.

[75] Not successful. Played six times in 1782. *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* December 21, 1782.

[76] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* May 26, 1787.

[77] August Wilhelm Iffland, *Almanach fürs Theater, Dritter Jahrgang,* Berlin, 1809.

[78] Played by the Wäser Gesellschaft eight times between June 9 and September 14, 1782.

lau,[79] besides many smaller places. Indeed, so great a favorite did the play prove to be that the plot was adapted again forty years later by a Viennese actor and underwent another revision as late as 1920. These productions will be discussed below in their proper settings.

While Gotter was winning such success with Gozzi's plays all over Germany, Schröder was by no means idle in Hamburg. Feeling that he could utilize more of Gozzi than had already been done, he prepared for his stage *Das Unglück der Donna Elvira, Königinn von Navarra, ein tragischer Prolog nach Gozzi zu folgendem Stück: Die Strafe im Abgrund, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen,*[80] which was produced for the first time on January 13, 1779. It was played there repeatedly during that season, but did not survive the year 1780. In 1779 it was also produced at Leipzig, where it was greatly enjoyed.[81] Prölss found it in the Dresden repertory from 1779 to 1882.[82] The only other places recording its production are Mannheim[83] and Riga.[84] Graf von Riesch retranslated it in 1821, and it was performed in Reval,[85] but by that time the super-romantic atmosphere of the production had outlived itself, and it disappeared completely from the repertoires of the German theatre.

While Schröder's text could not be found for comparison, his version seems to have preserved the text of the original, so far as one may judge from the "Theaterzettel." In the *dramatis personæ* not a single change is indicated. We may

[79] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* September 14, 1782.

[80] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* July 10, 1779.

[81] *Ibid.,* November 20, 1779. The performances took place October 12 and August 10.

[82] Robert Prölss, *Die Geschichte des neueren Dramas, Leipzig,* 1881, I, p. 342.

[83] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* August 19, 1780.

[84] *Ibid.,* December 4, 1784.

[85] August 12, 1821. T. Winkler, *Tagebuch der deutschen Schaubühne, auf das Jahr 1821.*

regard it as Schröder's or Werthes' translation, therefore, rather than an adaptation.

By no means satisfied that he had exhausted Gozzi, Schröder had another play ready six days after the première of *Die Strafe im Abgrund*. This time he selected one of the fiabe, around which, after all, his chief interest centered. It was the same play which had already been produced in the Hoftheater in Gotha, *Die glücklichen Bettler*. Consideration has already been given earlier in this chapter[86] to the question as to whether the production in Gotha was identical with that of Hamburg. This play has not been printed, nor is it contained in the collection of Schröder manuscripts in the possession of the Stadtbibliothek of Hamburg. From the *dramatis personæ* we know that Schröder gave the masks Eastern names, to harmonize with the setting of the story. Thus Tartaglia becomes Bedreddin, Pantalone changes to Pademanaba, Angelika acquires the name of Zulica, etc.

Die glücklichen Bettler was played for the first time on April 26, 1779, at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin.[87] It was repeated twice during the same month, but as it did not entirely suit the taste of the Berlin audience, it was withdrawn from the boards. A contemporary reviewer admits, however, that the audience and not the play was at fault.[88] In Hamburg, on the other hand, it was reviewed at first enthusiastically, particularly because Schröder himself took the part of Bedreddin. A Rostock contributor to Reichardt's *Theater Journal,* Johann Christian Koppe, who witnessed the performance of May 11, 1779, admired the acting greatly, yet could not find himself entirely in sympathy with Gozzi's ironical manner.

The magnificent play is one of the best of Gozzi, who has found so many admirers among us Germans; who, however,

[86] Cf. above, p. 31.
[87] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* July 24, 1779.
[88] *Ibid.*

go too far in our admiration, and treat with scorn both Chiari and Goldoni. Yet these, particularly the latter, afforded us a great deal of pleasure before our acquaintance with Gozzi. . . . . This I consider base ingratitude. Admitting that Gozzi surpassed both the others in talent, that one of his is worth a hundred of the Storm and Stress type or whatever their names may be, admitting all this, I must yet confess frankly that I do not feel quite at ease in the odd mixture of the supernatural and the natural, which contrasts so greatly in all of Gozzi's plays. In his everlasting fairy tales, though, to be sure, one recognizes his great genius and admires it.[89]

The writer must have found many to share his opinion of Schröder's adaptation from the fiabe, since *Die glücklichen Bettler* soon disappeared from the Hamburg repertoire. A year later it was played by the Bondini Gesellschaft in Leipzig, where it was received with great applause.[90] In 1782 the Wäser Gesellschaft carried it to Stettin and performed it eight times within three months.[91] Ten years later it was revived under the Goethe Directorate in Weimar and was played eight times between 1792 and 1797 on the stages of Weimar, Erfurt, and Lauchstädt.[92] During the eighties other popular versions of the same play, which will be discussed later, were presented in Vienna.

[89] *Theater Journal,* 1780, Heft 16, p. 164.

[90] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* May 27, 1780.

[91] *Ibid.,* September 14, 1782.

[92] *"Die glücklichen Bettler, Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen. Nach Gozzi."* January 14; March 24; August 5, 15, 23, October 18, 1792. April 30, 1795. February 27, 1797. C. A. H. Burkhardt, *Das Repertoire des Weimarischen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung,* 1791-1817. 1891, p. 125.

CHAPTER II

GOETHE AND GOZZI

Goethe's interest in Gozzi was awakened very early and never wholly disappeared throughout his long career. The first evidence to be found is an undated memorandum contained in a collection of brief notes generally assumed to have been jotted down either at the end of the third Frankfort period or at the beginning of the poet's residence in Weimar. This particular entry is a bit of improvised comedy:

Brigella. Gebt ihr die Rechnungen wenn sie sie haben will.

Truff(aldino). Wie würde dies gehn?

Brig(hella). Sey ruhig kann ich nicht herauskommen wie will sie klug daraus werden. Geschweige sie: ich kann nicht heraus kommen, geschweige sie.[1]

Although it is impossible to connect as short and abrupt a fragment as the above with anything of literary value, it is of great interest from a historical point of view, inasmuch as it seems to indicate that, at a comparatively early date, Goethe thought of composing an original drama of the type of the Commedia dell' Arte.

The above lines must be contemporary with a short notice in the diary, under date of October 25, 1777. "Am Abend eine Szene mit Pet. Ges. beym Herzog. Spiel und Vorlesen von Gozzi."[2] Such delight did the company take in the reading of the fiabe that, under the direction of Goethe, short improvised sketches were produced in Weimar,[3] followed on March 27, 1778, by *Die glücklichen Bettler,*[4] which was

[1] *Werke,* Weimar, 1897, XXXVIII, 495. The group of notes of which it forms a part, designated by Erich Schmidt "Späne," was transcribed by this editor from two bundles of papers found in the Goethe archives.

[2] *Werke,* Weimar, III, Bd. I, p. 52.

[3] R. Falck, *Zur Geschichte des Liebhabertheaters in Weimar,* Berlin, 1887, p. 137. Cf. *Goethe Jahrbuch,* IV, 115.

[4] *Tagebücher,* I, 64; II, 32. This was certainly the version attributed to Schröder. Cf. above, p. 31.

performed at the Hoftheater in Lauchstädt and in Erfurt eight times.[5] In January, 1780, *Das grüne Vögelchen (L'augellino belverde)* was staged by the Weimar company;[6] on March 21, 1783, *"Zobeis" (La zobeide);*[7] on March 21, 1793, *Die entwaffnete Rachgier,*[8] in addition to *Juliane von Lindorak,* which has already been discussed.[9]

So versatile a genius as Goethe's was bound to be affected to some degree by any author in whom he took an interest. A sort of "devil of parody" was riding him, he writes to Merck early in 1778, quoting consciously or unconsciously from Gozzi, and in such a mood he must have found a congenial spirit in the Venetian dramatist.[10] His mind was not of the type, however, which imitates directly the manner or style of another; rather, his delight in it would induce him unconsciously to absorb some part, transmute it within his soul, and bring it forth again, still showing the traces of its origin, yet wholly and absolutely his own. An example of this procedure is given by the *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit,* a "dramatic whim," as he himself called it. It was first announced to Frau von Stein in a letter dated September 12, 1777,[11] and its original form bore the title *Die Empfindsamen.* As such it was presented at the Liebhabertheater. Later,

[5] C. A. H. Burkhardt, *op. cit.,* p. 115.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 125. This was the Werthes version in all probability.

[7] *Goethe Jahrbuch,* IV, 115. Cf. note 6, above.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 123. Vulpius was the adapter of this play. See *Goethe Jahrbuch,* p. 64.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 138. See above, p. 36 ff.

[10] *Briefe,* III, 214 (March 18): "Beyliegend kriegst du von der Mutter meine neuste Tollheit, daraus du sehen wirst dass der Teufel der Parodie mich noch reitet." Cf. Gozzi's "questa diabolica parodia." *L'amore delle tre melarance.* I, 22.

[11] *Werke,* III, cf. p. 35: "Eine Tollbeit hab' ich erfunden, eine komische Oper . . . . so toll und grob als möglich," perhaps an echo of the term "uno smoderato capriccio," which Gozzi applies to the fiaba which was Goethe's source (cf. *L'amore delle tre melarance,* ed. Masi, I, 22).

when Goethe included it among his collected works, he changed the title to its present form.[12]

It is easy to trace the conception of the *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* to the influence of Gozzi's *L'amore delle tre melarance*. Both authors use a dramatized form of fairy tale to satirize a contemporary literary evil. In Gozzi's case the attack was directed generally against the slavish imitation of the French drama in Italy, while Goethe wished to deal the death blow to that type of sentimentality of which his own Werther was the chief exponent. Specifically the former attacked the "versi martelliani" of Goldoni and Chiari, the latter the "Monodrama" popular at the time. Upon a closer examination of the two plays, numerous points of contact are evident. Prince Tartaglia of the *Amore delle tre melarance* suffers from a seemingly incurable attack of hypochondria, called forth by the martellian verse of the poets Goldoni and Chiari. His only hope of recovery consists in whole-souled laughter. In Goethe's play, Prince Oronaro suffers from a similar disease: exaggerated sentimentality, which could only be cured by that quality which is engendered by a sane, natural view of life, a sense of humor. In both princes we see in much exaggerated form, of course, the effect upon the mind of the types of literature ridiculed: symbolized in the one case by papers containing martellian verses in powdered form, in the other by books which formed the stuffing of Oronaro's doll. Both princes, therefore, become victims of a mental disease, for which aid is sought from magician and oracle. The cure prescribed for both is the same: the arousing of a sense of humor, which presupposes a natural, healthy state of mind. In addition to Prince Oronaro, the German play has another victim of sentimental melancholia in Mandandane, wife of King Andrason, whom Prince Oronaro has infected with his disease.

[12] A detailed account of the history of this play is to be found in *Werke,* XVII, 311 ff.

While Prince Tartaglia is cured by hearty laughter and Mandandane also recovers because she recognizes the false sentimentality and artificiality of Prince Oronaro, the latter, quite beyond redemption, remains to the end the captive of his hallucinations. Both princes, quixotic in their attitude toward existence, have attendants who in their dog-like yet self-interested devotion, contrasting strangely with their practical, though strictly limited outlook upon life, reveal Sancho Pansian propensities which but emphasize the absurdities of their masters. At the same time, both Truffaldino and Merkulo furnish the audience with keen amusement. That the figure of the latter is a German transmutation of the former goes without saying.

There are evidences in the *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* of the influence of other fiabe. Thus the entrance[13] of Merkulo with his bodyguard, the Moors, attendants, and so forth, as well as the Chinese decorations of the hall, are reminiscent of very similar preparations in *Turandot.*[14] The name of the heroine, Mandandane, was probably evoked by Princess Dardane of the *Mostro turchino.* That Goethe knew this fiaba appears probable from other similarities of a minor sort. Thus Truffaldino, protesting the unshakeable constancy of his master Taer, declares that he has never looked at any other women, and that they all appear ugly to him. He had seen some of surpassing beauty in despair, because of their unrequited affections for his master, but he had always despised and scorned them all.[15] Similarly, in the *Triumph der Emfindsamkeit,*[16] the prince tortures himself because so many women love him, for after all he can bestow his hand upon one only: "Es ist nicht Langeweile, es ist die Gefälligkeit dieser angenehmen Geschöpfe, die mich ängstet."

[13] *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit. Werke.* XVII, 17.
[14] *Turandot,* ed. E. Masi, Act II, Sc. I.
[15] *Mostro turchino* ed. Masi, I, 206.
[16] *Werke,* XVII, 28.

That Goethe's interest in Gozzi was still alive half a dozen years later would appear from the strophes entitled "Antworten bei einem gesellschaftlichen Fragespiel," incorporated in the Paralipomena to *Die ungleichen Hausgenossen.*[17] The idea behind these lines is perhaps borrowed from the first act of *Il Secreto pubblico*. Here in answer to the question, "what is the greatest torture to which love can be subjected?" each member reveals in his reply some hidden trouble. Goethe may have had this passage in mind when, in the strophes referred to, he uses a variety of questions to elicit different, yet self-revealing answers. Unfortunately these verses, though complete in themselves, are not sufficiently closely connected with the play to permit a definite conclusion as to their intended position, but the assumption may fairly be made that each stanza was to be sung by a member of the cast as a characteristic utterance of his ideas.

Goethe's conception of Gozzi was crystallized and intensified while he was traveling in Italy. It is possible that he may have witnessed a Gozzi play in Venice. Under date of October 5, 1786, he wrote from there:

> Ich komme noch lachend aus der Tragödie und muss diesen Scherz gleich ouf dem Papier befestigen. Das Stück war nicht schlimm, der Verfasser hatte alle tragischen Matadore zusammengesteckt und die Schauspieler hatten gut gespielt. Die meisten Situationen waren bekannt, einige neu und ganz glücklich. Zwei Väter, die sich hassen, Söhne und Töchter über's Kreuz verliebt, ja, das eine Paar heimlich verheiratet. Es ging wild und grausam zu, und nichts blieb zuletzt übrig, um die jungen Leute glücklich zu machen, als dass die beiden Väter sich erstachen, worauf, unter lebhaftem Händeklatschen, der Vorhang fiel. Nun ward aber das Klatschen heftiger, nun wurde "fuora" gerufen, und das so lange, bis sich die zwei Hauptpaare bequemten, hinter dem Vorhang hervorzukriechen, ihre Bücklinge zu machen und auf der andern Seite wieder abzugehen.

[17] Originated probably around 1785. Published for the first time in *Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1796. Werke,* I, 38; 325. Also in Paralipomena, *Werke,* XII, 410 ff.

Das publikum war noch nicht befriedigt, es klatschte fort und rief; "I morti!" Das dauerte so lange, bis die zwei Toten auch herauskamen und sich bückten, da denn einige Stimmen riefen: "Bravi i morti!" Sie wurden durch Klatschen lange festgehalten, bis man ihnen gleichfalls endlich abzugehen erlaubte. Die Posse gewinnt für den Augen-und Ohrenzeugen unendlich, der das "Bravo! Bravi!" das die Italiener immer im Munde führen, so in den Ohren hat wie ich und dann auf einmal die Toten mit diesem Ehrenwort anrufen hört.[18]

On the following day, in a more serious frame of mind, the poet drew some interesting conclusions:[19]

Die Tragödie gestern hat mich manches gelehrt. Erstlich habe ich gehört, wie die Italiener ihre eilfsilbigen Iamben behandeln und declamiren, dann habe ich begriffen, wie klug Gozzi die Masken mit den tragischen Figuren verbunden hat. Das ist das eigentliche Schauspiel für dieses Volk, denn es will auf eine crude Weise gerührt sein, es nimmt keinen innigen zärtlichen Anteil am Unglücklichen, es freut sie nur, wenn der Held gut spricht, denn auf's Reden halten sie viel, sodann wollen sie aber lachen oder etwas Albernes vernehmen.

Repeatedly, in the following decade, Goethe's letters and diary testify to an occupation with Gozzi. Thus, in the *Campagne in Frankreich,* in a discussion concerning the dramatic repertoire of the Weimar Theater, he places the Italian between Shakespeare and Schiller. After mentioning a number of contemporary authors whose fame was ephemeral he went on:

Diese lebendige, sich im Zirkel herumtreibende Masse suchte man mit Shakespeare, Gozzi und Schiller geistiger zu erheben. Man verliess die bisherige Art, nur Neues zum nächsten Verlust einzustudiren, man war sorgfältig in der Wahl und bereitete schon ein Repertorium vor, welches viele Jahre gehalten hat.[20]

[18] *Italiänische Reise, Werke,* XXX, 122-23. I know of no play by Gozzi which bears resemblance to the above plot.

[19] *Italiänische Reise,* XXX, 124.

[20] *Campagne in Frankreich,* XXXIII, 251 f.

Here he evidently refers to *Juliane von Lindorak* and *Die glücklichen Bettler,* which latter was revived in Weimar on December 31, 1793. The first letter which has been preserved, from Goethe to August Wilhelm Schlegel, May 28, 1797, accompanied the first volumes of the translated works of Gozzi intended for Friedrich Schlegel.[21] On the same day this was supplemented by a short entry into his diary: "Briefe nach Weimar Gozzi."[22] On May 29, the Weimar poet is still reading our author: "Gozzi König der Genien und wahrer Freund."[23] In August of the same year, while visiting the theatre in Frankfort, en route for Switzerland, he wrote:

> Auf dem Theater, so wie ich auch wieder hier sehe, wäre in dem gegenwärtigen Augenblick manches zu thun, aber man müsste es leicht nehmen und in der Gozzischen Manier traktiren; doch es ist in keinem Sinne werth.[24]

The plan of adapting the works of Gozzi for presentation in Germany again occurred to Goethe two years later, when he and Schiller were discussing the collection and the printing of good German plays, either in their original form or abridged and modernized to suit the taste of the time. The same process was to be applied to foreign plays.[25] One result of these plans was Schiller's adaptation, virtually amounting to a translation, of Gozzi's fiaba *Turandot.* The keen and sympathetic interest which Goethe took in the composition of this comedy finds full expression in the correspondence with Schiller and in Goethe's diaries, and has been discussed in all its phases by Albert Köster.[26]

After its first two performances in Weimar, Goethe, under signature of "Die Direction" on February 15, 1802, wrote a

[21] Jena, May 28, 1797. *Werke,* IV; XII, 133.
[22] *Tagebücher,* May 29, 1797. *Ibid.,* III; V. 2. p. 70.
[23] *Tagebücher,* May 29, 1797. *Ibid.,* III; V. 2. p. 70.
[24] *Werke,* XXXIV-I, pp. 238-39; V. XII; p. 229.
[25] *Tag- und Jahreshefte,* 1799. *Werke,* XXXV, 82.
[26] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 210 ff.

detailed and highly favorable review of *Turandot.*[27] After pointing out that the theatre should at times take its devotees on journeys into distant regions even at the cost of their personal ease, he continues:

Was uns betrifft, so wünschen wir freilich, dass wir nach und nach mehr Stücke von rein gesonderten Gattungen erhalten mögen, weil die wahre Kunst nur auf diese Weise gefördert werden kann; allein wir finden auch solche Stücke höchst nöthig, durch welche der Zuschauer erinnert wird, dass das ganze theatralische Wesen nur ein Spiel sei, über das er, wenn es ihm ästhetisch, ja moralisch nutzen soll, erhoben stehen muss, ohne deshalb weniger Genuss daran zu finden.

Als ein solches Stück schätzen wir *Turandot.* Hier ist das Abenteuerliche verschlungner menschlicher Schicksale der Grund, auf dem die Handlung vorgeht. Umgestürzte Reiche, vertriebene Könige, irrende Prinzen, Sclavinnen, sonst Prinzessinnen, führt eine erzählende Exposition vor unserm Geist vorüber, und die auch am Orte im phantastischen Peking auf einen kühn verliebten Fremden wartende Gefahr wird uns vor Augen gestellt. Was wir aber sodann erblicken, ist ein in Frieden herrschender, behaglicher, obgleich trauriger Kaiser, eine Prinzessin, eifersüchtig auf ihre weibliche Freiheit, und übrigens ein durch Masken erheitertes Serail. Räthsel vertreten hier die Stelle der Scylla und Charybdis, denen sich ein gutmüthiger Prinz aufs neue aussetzt, nachdem er ihnen schon glücklich entkommen war. Nun soll der Name des Unbekannten entdeckt werden, man versucht Gewalt, und hier gibt es eine Reihe von pathetischen, theatralisch auffallenden Scenen, man versucht die List, und nun wird die Macht der Überredung stufenweise aufgeboten.

Zwischen alle diese Zustände ist das Heitere, das Lustige ausgesäet und eine so bunte Behandlung mit völliger Einheit bis zu Ende durchgeführt. . . . .

Sollte es möglich sein, den vier Masken, wo nicht ihre ursprüngliche Anmuth zu geben, doch wenigstens etwas Ähnliches an die Stelle zu setzen, so würde schon viel gewonnen sein.

[27] "*Theater und Schauspielkunst.* Weimarisches Hoftheater." *Werke,* XL, 82 ff.

This review, which shows a very keen interest in Gozzi, is also of importance as reflecting the impression which the brilliant scenes of the Italian fiabe made when presented in their German form.

Goethe's admiration for Gozzi is evidenced again and again as the years pass. Thus, in paying tribute to the brilliantly witty French writer and conversationalist Piron (1689-1773) in 1804, Goethe says:

> Wie Gozzi, obgleich nicht mit solcher Macht und in solcher Breite, nimmt er sich bedrängter oder beschränkter Theater an, arbeitet für sie, macht ihnen Ruf und ist vergnügt etwas Unerwartetes geleistet zu haben.[28]

Again, in the Prologue recited at the Weimar Theater at its reopening on September 19, 1807, in the presence of the ducal family, the fiabe are not forgotten:

> Ihr habt uns oft begleitet in die fernste Welt,
> Nach Samarkand und Peking und ins Feenreich.[29]

Nor was *Turandot* omitted when the Kobler Gesellschaft of actors opened the season of 1812.[30] In staging *Epimenides Erwachen,* when the Demon of Slavery is to appear, the author directs that he shall bear the form of an old theatrical magician, like Gozzi's Sinadab.[31]

A few years later, in 1818, when Goethe organized in Weimar a pageant presenting the masterpieces of German literature, he inserted a résumé of *Turandot,* in which the rôles were given to prominent members of the Court, Turandot being represented by Frau von Spiegel, Emperor Altoum by von Arnim, and Adelma by Frau von Goethe.

[28] Cf. 1804. "Anmerkungen Über Personen und Gegenstände deren in dem Dialog *Rameau's Neffe* erwähnt wird." *Werke,* XLV, 198.

[29] *Werke,* XIII-I, 90.

[30] *Tag- und Jahres- Hefte,* 1812.

[31] "Actenstücke zur Entstehung des Epimenides." *Werke,* XVI, 499.

It was introduced by the following lines:

Möge nach so viel Ernst, ein leichtsinniges Märchen zum Schlusse gefallen. Altoum, fabelhafter Kaiser von China; Turandot, seine räthselliebende Tochter, stellen sich vor. Kalaf, ein kühner Berwerber, Adelma, eine leidenschaftliche Nebenbuhlerin, Zelima und ein wunderliches Maskengefolge erbitten sich, wie dem Ganzen, Geneigtheit und Nachsicht.[32]

In the Procession that follows, Altoum tells the story of the fiaba in blank verse.

Finally, a number of references in the "Gespräche" which he had in the latter part of his life with his friends, indicate that the Italian dramatist still survived in the memory of the aging poet.[33]

As late as 1830, Goethe recalled with pleasure his contact with the Commedia dell' Arte in Venice.

Goethe erzählte uns darauf die Art und Weise, wie Gozzi sein Theater del Arte zu Venedig eingerichtet hatte, und wie seine improvisierende Truppe beliebt gewesen. "Ich habe," sagte er, "zu Venedig noch zwei Actricen jener Truppe gesehen, besonders Brighella[34] und habe noch mehreern solcher improvisierter Stücke mit beigewohnt. Die Wirkung, die diese Leute hervorbrachten, war ausserordentlich."[35]

In looking back upon Goethe's life, it is evident that, from the time that the poet's interest was first aroused by the productions of Carlo Gozzi, he found a continuing pleasure in his works. It was probably *his* enthusiasm which caused Gozzi's dramas to be read aloud at the court of Weimar and which brought about the early staging of German versions of the fiabe, and induced the merry company of amateurs

[32] *Maskenzug von 1819. Werke,* XVI, 242.

[33] These pertain almost exclusively to a statement made by Gozzi regarding the thirty-six situations of the drama. Cf. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe,* Leipzig, 1896, II, 89. Cf. February 14, 1830.

[34] *Ibid.,* III, 145.

[35] Probably Goethe is confusing Brighella with his sister, Smeraldina.

at the court to indulge in original improvised comedy *à l'italienne*.[36] If an attempt were to be made to draw a curve of this enthusiasm for Gozzi, it would be found that one peak is reached when Goethe successfully utilized Gozzi's method and the idea underlying *L'amore delle tre melarance* for his *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit,* and that another marks his contact with the art of Gozzi in Venice, which left so lasting an impression upon his mind that he still dwelt upon it with pleasure forty-five years later. The latent interest which is well documented throughout the decade following his return to Weimar, was blown into full flame by Schiller's adaptation of *Turandot.* In this undertaking, Goethe aided and abetted the younger poet, even in the face of harsh criticism, and heartily welcomed the play into the theatre in Weimar. *Turandot* marks, it appears, the zenith of Goethe's active interest in Gozzi; but the flame which had burned so brightly left an afterglow which lasted until the poet's death.

[36] Cf. above, pp. 45-46.

CHAPTER III

THE SPREAD OF THE GOZZI VOGUE

Almost two decades had now elapsed since the introduction of Carlo Gozzi to the German-Austrian stage, unless indeed we are to reject the first work bearing his name (*Il puntiglio amoroso*, cf. above p. 21) from our discussion. For at least a dozen years the Venetian poet had been accessible to Germans through Werthes' translation which, in spite of its inadequacy, had won immediate friends for the fiabe. Lessing and Goethe were at once attracted by their charm and novelty, and as we have seen, the two greatest stage directors in Germany, F. L. Schröder and F. W. Gotter, brought them on the boards in worthy form.

It was Gotter who with unerring dramatic instinct selected for his adaptations three forms which were later to become canonical for his successors in the rendering of Gozzi for the German stage: a more or less literal translation of the original; a melodrama, usually transferred to a German milieu; and a musical play or operetta. Under the first type falls *Das öffentliche Geheimnis;* under the second, *Juliane von Lindorak;* while *Das tartarische Gesetz* is a representative of the third. Most of the adaptations of the seventies and eighties come under the first and second rubrics, while the period after 1790 sees the adaptation of Gozzi's plays as musical librettos grow in popularity. It was, as we shall see, especially in this genre that the amusement-loving audiences of the Vienna suburbs learned to know Gozzi.

In the meantime, it must be confessed that the Gozzi vogue, as it passed from the hands of the gifted managers of the Gotha and Hamburg stages, was taken over chiefly by stage handicraftsmen eager to profit by the popularity of the Italian author. The adaptations of the nineties show an abrupt decline in dramatic quality from those of Gotter and Schröder. Thus, while *Die glücklichen Bettler* was being played in Leip-

zig, another Gozzi fiaba *Zeim, König der Schutzgeister,* adapted for the German stage by the actor Reinecke, who was at that time active in Leipzig, was presented in the Saxon city during the months of July, August, and October, and proved a great favorite.[1] It was considered a good "box-office" play. The scenic decorations were lauded, the plot was praised. Reinecke harvested commendation for having cleverly changed a number of scenes. Thus Gozzi, had staged a battle with the Moors, which Reinecke converted into a triumphal procession marching across the stage to Janizary music. Special mention was made of the pleasing music composed by a certain Herr Bauser. It has not been possible to find a copy of this manuscript, which like many other adaptations from Gozzi seems lost to posterity.

A publisher in Leipzig by the name of Dyk, noting Gozzi's popularity in that city and well acquainted with the abilities of the actors of his native town, perceived as he himself relates to us,[2] the admirable aptitude of one of these, a certain Christ, for the part of Marquis Tourbillion, in Gozzi's *Le due notte affannose.* He therefore adapted for the stage of Leipzig, with particular attention to that character, this work, the plot of which Gozzi had borrowed from Calderón's comedy *Gustos y disgustos no son más que imaginación.* Dyk entitled his version *Wie man sich die Sache denkt oder die zwey schlaflosen Nächte. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen vom Grafen Karl Gozzi. Für das deutsche Theater bearbeitet* [(von Joh. Gottfr. Dyk), Leipzig, im Verlag der Dykischen Buchhandlung. 1780. 160 pp. 8°.][3]

[1] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, September 2, December 23, 1780; July 28, 1781.

[2] A "Notice" which he has appended to the edition of 1780.

[3] The Thieme Collection of the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna possesses a copy of the original edition. August Sauer, in the notes to his edition of the works of Grillparzer (IV-II, 4, p. 480), claims that Gotter is the author of this play. He probably reached this erroneous conclusion through the fact that Dyk's play in the Viennese National-

In a few effective words, in which he quotes Dyk's self-complacent preface and points out the wide gap between the promise and the actual achievement, Köster reviews the play, which adheres closely to the Werthes translation.[4]

During the year 1780, Dyk's version was produced with varying success by the Bondini Gesellschaft in Leipzig,[5] by Schröder in Hamburg,[6] and by the Wäser Gesellschaft in Breslau.[7] In Bonn it appeared for the first time three years later,[8] when its ephemeral existence as a stage production seems to have come to an end. Before its disappearance from the boards, however, it had the distinction of being translated into French by Belloy under the title of *Pierre le cruel.* It was performed in Paris in 1781; its failure was responsible for the death of the author.[9] Dyk's play cannot have quite lost its popularity with its disappearance from the stage, for it appeared in Augsburg, in 1794,[10] in the collection of the *Deutsche Schaubühne,* under a new title, *Zwei unruhige Nächte oder Neigung und Abneigung.* This is a reprint in toto of Dyk's play of 1780, with Dyk's preface, as Köster shows.[11]

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bibliothek is bound as the second play, in one volume with Gotter's *Das öffentliche Geheimnis,* the two dramas being entitled: *Zwey-Schauspiele für das deutsche Theater bearbeitet.* (8°. Leipzig, Dyk, 1781.) A copy of this book is also in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

[4] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 210 f.

[5] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, October 15, 1780. The Saxon audience was not at all enthusiastic.

[6] "Comoedien Zetteln": October 23, 24, 25, 1780. Hamburg.

[7] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, June 2, 1781. The article again comments upon the dubious success achieved.

[8] Reichardt's *Theater Journal,* Heft 22, p. 67. The music of the Cantata was especially written by Hiller.

[9] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, December 22, 1781.

[10] Listed as 1788 in the Catalogue of the British Museum. The copy in the Bavarian Nationalbibliothek, Munich, is of 1794, however.

[11] For the detailed discussion see above, p. 57 f.

Werthes himself, following his translation of the major part of Gozzi, made two special adaptations from the Venetian dramatist. The first of these was *I fratelli nemici,* which Werthes entitles *Die zwey feindlichen Brüder,* and published at Bern, 1782.[12] Later it was republished in Hamburg under the title of *Brigella. Ein Schauspiel aus dem Italiänischen (des Carlo Gozzi) . . . .* 1791. *Anhang zu C. Gozzis Theatralischen Werken in fünf Theilen.*

The plot is somewhat similar to that of Schiller's *Räuber:* the rivalry of two brothers, one good, one evil; an old father imprisoned by the wicked younger brother (in this case, however, the father of the heroine), and the final triumph of the good brother, who wins the kingdom and his beloved. It is written in Werthes' usual abrupt, yet plastic style. It has not been possible to trace its success or failure on the stage—in fact, it is doubtful whether it was ever actually presented.

The second adaptation made by Werthes was of *Le due notte affannose,* which he entitled *Die zwey schlaflosen Nächte oder der glückliche Betrug.* He placed the action in a German milieu and changed the honest Pantalone into a feminine confidante, Frau von Rieden.[13] This version was performed in 1786 at the Imperial Theatre in Vienna[14] and at the Churfürstliche Theater in Munich.[15] Previous to this,

[12] Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 318. A copy exists in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Wurzbach has it *Die zwey feindselige Brüder,* Leipzig, 1782.

[13] *Die zwey schlaflosen Nächte oder der glückliche Betrug,* Wien, 1785. Köster erroneously gives 1775 as the date: *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 320. The copy in the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna is of particular interest because it was prepared for Viennese stage production, and strictly censors with red ink all speeches and sentiments that might wound the delicate, conventional nerves of the Austrian court, as well as all lines that could be construed, no matter in how far-fetched a manner, into lèse majesté!

[14] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* Berlin, March 24, 1787.

[15] *Ibid.,* May 26, 1787.

however, (December 7, 1780) there had taken place in Salzburg a performance of the play in the original form, which Werthes gave in the fifth volume of the Bern edition of his translation of 1777-1779. Schikaneder put on this production under the following title: *Peter der Grausame oder die zwei schlaflosen Nächte. Schauspeil in fünf Aufzügen nach C. Gozzi von Werthes.* Of special interest is the fact that Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote the arias for this performance.[16]

Werthes' stage version made of Gozzi's play a polite society drama. The episode of the unborn child, which might have shocked the conventional sensibilities of the average spectator of that period, he omitted entirely. He also did some admirable work in cutting the many asides and speeches expressive of the actors' feelings which encumber the action of the original. His aim seems to have been to have the mimic play of the actors substitute for these disturbing intercalations of Gozzi. On the whole, however, Werthes adhered fairly closely to the original version, introducing changes only in one or two instances where the lines might have been construed as expressing sentiments against reigning princes. For instance, in Act III, Scene 4, Johann says in the first Werthes version: "A rare specimen for a cabinet of collections—a petrified lordship." This became in the new version: "Honor? As if the protection of the Prince were a shameful thing!" Again in Act IV, Scene 7, Johann declares in the earlier translation: "The Prince thinks that you have left. These gentlemen, God help us, have their spies everywhere." Needless to say, the last statement was carefully omitted for stage purposes. The drama in the stage adaptation has also suffered loss through the deletion of many of the amusing speeches of the masks, which were quite coarse, to be sure, yet at the same time lent a characteristic Gozziesque touch to the whole.

[16] Doctor E. K. Blümml, *Aus Mozarts Freundes- und Familienkreis.* 1923. Verlag Strache, p. 145.

Albert Köster uses the Dyk version discussed above as an example of the type of Gozzi adaptation which "flooded the German stage at that time."[17] He skims the following twenty years with the remark: "A pause of twenty years ensued."[18] It is our duty for the rest of this chapter to discuss the period which he dismisses so lightly and to show that the "forgotten Gozzi" furnished rich material, particularly for the German operatic stage, during all of these years.

It is not strange, perhaps, that in Hamburg, the city which had already produced a number of Gozzi plays, there should have been staged during the summer months of 1782 a rather interesting phenomenon which enjoyed such popularity that it was given repeatedly during the rest of the year.[19] This was *Der Triumph der Tugend oder Der Mund der Wahrheit,* a spectacular "Chinese ballet in two acts by Herr Sacco."[20] The author, who was evidently quite familiar with the fiabe of Gozzi, successfully combined various motifs into a charming whole. Into the exotic Chinese atmosphere suggested by *Turandot* he transferred a part of the action of *Il re cervo,* cleverly combined with elements gleaned from *L'augellino belverde* and particularly from *I pitocchi fortunati.*

The action of the "ballet" is briefly as follows: The philosopher Confucius, feeling his end approaching, bequeathed to his pupil, Emperor Ho-ant-gi, a statue endowed with wondrous power. In order to discover a woman worthy of himself, the emperor was to ask each one in presence of the statue whether she loved him and would be true to him. If the face of the statue smiled at her reply, she was lying; but if it kept a serious aspect, her fidelity and love could be relied upon. The first act reveals a magnificent hall, in the background of which is the statue of Confucius. Maidens and

[17] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 219.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 221.

[19] June 22, July 25, August 5, August 14, August 26, September 4, September 13, October 24, November 1, November 11, December 3, 1782.

[20] Comoedien Zetteln, 1782. Hamburg.

slaves are dancing. The first mandarin, Fo-ho-lin, enters, to announce the arrival of His Majesty, and he arranges the fair dancers systematically in line. All are happy, for each one thinks herself endowed with sufficient charm to aspire to the rank of empress. Amid great pomp the emperor enters, and addresses maiden after maiden; but, as the statue does not cease smiling, he dismisses each in turn with gifts. At last Ping-sing, a Mingrelian slave, attracts his attention by her grace and vivacity. Yet the statue is no kinder to her than to her companions. Ho-ant-gi is about to stop the interrogation in disgust when he observes one whose modest bearing sets her apart from the rest. Hang-tsi, the girl is, however, the favorite slave of Fo-ho-lin, who feels for her a love which she does not reciprocate. The mandarin becomes insanely jealous, and tries to distract the Emperor's attention from her, but in vain. She is questioned in the usual manner; the statue remains immovable. This is all the Emperor needs to fix his determination. He orders her to be placed in a closed sedan-chair and to be taken to the temple, where the marriage ceremony is to be performed at once. While the Emperor is expressing his gratitude to the statue, Fo-ho-lin adroitly substitutes Ping-sing for Hang-tsi, so that the former is borne off to the Temple. He himself drags his slave off to an adjoining apartment. The Emperor and his retinue depart.

Thus far the plot has followed exactly the story of the first act of *Il re cervo,* with the exception of the substituting of the Mingrelian for Hang-tsi: King Deramo wins in like manner Angela, beloved of the scoundrelly first minister, Tartaglia, by the aid of a similar statue given him by the magician Durandarte.

Henceforward the fable follows the plot of other fiabe. Fo-ho-lin returns dragging Hang-tsi with him. She desires to be true to Ho-ant-gi, but just as she is about to fall a prey to the passion of the mandarin (cf. Tartaglia and Zemrude in *I pitocchi fortunati*) Hang-tsi prays in her anguish

of soul to the statue of Confucius, which suddenly becomes alive, (cf. Calmon, the living statue in *L'augellino belverde*) tears Hang-tsi from the grasp of the lustful mandarin and assures her protection for her virtue. At first the mandarin scorns his threats, but suddenly overcome with fear he jumps out of the nearest window. Hang-tsi expresses her profound gratitude to her rescuer.

The rise of the curtain on the second act reveals the interior of a brilliantly illuminated, transparent, delicately wrought Chinese temple. A triumphal procession enters, including a closed sedan-chair containing Ping-sing and Emperor Ho-ant-gi, borne by mandarins. (Cf. the marriage of Muzaffer and the veiled monstrosity in *I pitocchi fortunati.*) The marriage ceremony with the veiled Mingrelian slave is about to be performed, when thunder, lightning and flames suddenly rage and the altar, as by magic, vanishes. (The sudden storms, hailing the advent of some retributive justice, are an adjunct to all of Gozzi's fiabe.) In its place, the ghost of Confucius appears, rends the veil of Ping-sing, and unfolds to the Emperor the treachery of the first minister. Ho-ant-gi and Hang-tsi are married by the spirit of the great philosopher. On the plea of mercy by the new Empress, the Emperor pardons the malefactors (cf. the ending of *Turandot* and *Il re cervo*) and joy reigns supreme. This skilful interweaving of various threads of the Gozzi fiabe foreshadowed the later manipulation of these delightful fantasies for operatic use and their transfer into that magic world where melody, imagery, poetry and colorful fancy harmoniously blend into one.

While Sacco was delighting the theatregoers of Hamburg with this ballet, an actor in Vienna, Friedrich Schletter, inspired by Schmidt's *Hermannide,* put Gozzi's *Il trionfo dell' Amicizia* into German. Schletter made his adaptation in a competition for a prize and, like his predecessor Schmidt, was fortunate enough to win the coveted reward with his five-

act drama, *Karl von Freystein oder die Schule der Jünglinge.* We have not been able to discover a manuscript or a printed edition of this play. It does not seem to have been very successful, for the only cities which, according to contemporary notices, staged it, were Leipzig[21] and Hamburg,[22] Schletter's adaptation introduced changes which were not approved by contemporary criticism which felt the need of a more fundamental revision of Gozzi's defective plot.[23] Both Gozzi and Schletter are reproved because the mainspring of action, Karl's mistress, does not appear on the stage at all, so that the audience is uncertain whether or not she deserves the treatment meted out to her and the hero, and is therefore dissatisfied at the end. Gozzi's lame ending, which seems to have been responsible for the lack of popularity of this play in Italy, sends the young roué, Don Ramiro, who has been guilty of murder, to some years of imprisonment in a fortress, surely a weak and tragic ending to a humorous play. Schletter in no wise improves on the work of his predecessor for the German version pardons Karl so that he goes scot-free, a conclusion which is, perhaps, in harmony with the American moving picture melodrama of the twentieth century, but could scarcely satisfy the decorous, conventional theatre-goer of 1782. Schletter also spoiled the figure of the merry, irresponsible Don Ramiro by making him into a cold and moody Karl von Freystein, who rants his way through the play. Furthermore, instead of picking out the best parts and compressing these into vivid action, he pads the drama with further unnecessary scenes. No wonder, then, that the work disappeared so quickly from the boards.

Undeterred by the slight measure of success attained by

[21] On September 15, 1782. *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung.* Berlin, December 21, 1782.

[22] November 18, 21, 28, 1782. Comoedien Zetteln, Hamburg.

[23] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* November 23, 1782, March 3, 1783.

Karl von Freystein, Schletter translated another of Gozzi's plays, *La principessa filosofa.* This appeared in 1784[24] as *Die philosophische Dame,* and provided the German theater with a plot which has proven of sufficient interest to attract full houses to the present day.[25] This play Gozzi had culled from the works of Moreto,[26] though he had changed it in his own characteristic fashion, as he did so many Spanish plays. Schletter's version was performed for the first time at the National theater in Vienna on May 8, 1784, and was repeated several times during the months of May and June.[27] The only other places where it obtained a hearing were Regensburg, where Emanuel Schikaneder staged it on October 31 and December 10, 1787,[28] and Breslau, November 22, 1788,[29] where it was greeted with applause. A contemporary reviewer criticizes Schletter for transferring the action from Italy to Germany, stating that "such servants and such jests are not at home in Germany."[30] He also considers the play entirely too long for the comfort of the audience.

As has been stated above, the names of the dramatis personæ become German. No real change of character occurs, although the subordinate part of Cousin Amalie is expanded to much greater proportions than in the original play. Gozzi's motivation of entrances, exits, of speeches and so forth has also been considerably improved. Schletter wrote in the prose style of Werthes, whose work he evidently used as a model. *Die philosophische Dame* deserved a better fate than the early oblivion into which it fell. Its Italian original was later in the hands of Vienna's greatest theatrical director,

[24] Published by Kruzbeck, Vienna, 1784.

[25] See below, pp. 66, 84.

[26] See above, p. 21.

[27] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, July 3 and August 21, 1784.

[28] *Neues Theater Journal für Deutschland,* Leipzig, 1789, pp. 77, 78.

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[30] *Litteratur und Theater Zeitung,* Berlin, July 3, 1784.

Joseph Schreyvogel, to furnish the Danube city with its most successful adaptation from Gozzi.[31]

The same year that saw in Vienna the production of *Die philosophische Dame* by Schletter, witnessed the publication in Frankfort of another version[32] of the ever popular *Glücklichen Bettler,*[33] the work of Carl Friedrich Zimdar, an actor originally of Berlin, but at this time a member of the troupe of Madame Wäser in Breslau.[34] Whether or not this is the play staged by Christian Rossbach in Vienna on the Schauspielbühne am Neuen Markt on June 12, 1787[35] and in the Theater am Spittelberge, July 18, 1787, under the title of *Der König in fünferlei Gestalten oder die glücklichen Bettler,*[36] it has not been possible to determine. There is no doubt, however, that the comedy produced in the Theater auf der Landstrasse under the direction of Elise Kettner on Friday, January 4, 1793, *Die glücklichen Bettler oder Wer nicht schwimmen kann geht unter, Lustspiel in 3 Aufzügen aus 1001 Nacht nach Gozzi* von Zimdar,[37] is the same play as that printed nine years previously in Frankfort. However, it has not been possible to gather any further data concerning it.

As further evidence of the growth of the Gozzi interest in the decade following the appearance of Werthes' translation, may be noted its reflection in the narrative literature of the period. Count Carl Fr. Reinhard published in the *Schwäbische Museum* (Kempten) in 1785 and 1786 *Zobeide,* "a fiaba by Gozzi." Here the comedy is retold in story form in imita-

[31] Cf. below, p. 88.

[32] Cf. above, p. 43.

[33] Library of the British Museum, London, England.

[34] *Neues Theater Journal für Deutschland,* Leipzig, 1788, p. 44.

[35] E. K. Blümml and G. Gugitz, *Die Frühzeit der Wiener Vorstadt Bühne,* Schroll, 1923, p. 194.

[36] *Ibid.,* p. 196.

[37] Program from the archives of the "Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Musikvereinsgebäude," Vienna.

tion of Wieland's manner, but the narrative is far too long-drawn out to be at all interesting.[88]

Another proof of the widespread interest in our author is to be found in certain serial stories which ran through the magazines of the day, the plots of which are strongly reminiscent of Gozzi. As an example of this type, we may adduce *Feenbrunst und Märchenliebe oder Liebschaften der Fee Champagner,* a German fairy tale by Cunz von Rosen and Wilibald Spatz.[89]

This story not only bases its plot on the tale of *La donna serpente,* but uses the Gozziesque manner of satire against an existing literary evil. In this particular instance, the satire is directed against the romances of knights and of robber chieftains so prevalent at this time. That the authors were well acquainted with the Gozzi drama is apparent from similarities in plot and character as well as from many speeches like that in which the vainglorious Radulph boasts of his prowess: "Let your magic evoke a dragon out of whose brazen throat flames forth a stream of fire, as out of the rocky mortar of Gibraltar. . . . . If but one point, be it never so tiny, be vulnerable, its fire shall cool shortly." Later on the story, forgetting its origin, loses its way in the quicksands of a bizarre, unfinished episode.

The adaptability of Gozzi's light, fantastic plays to musical accompaniment, has already been noted and the successful weaving together of motives from four of them into a "ballet" by Sacco in Hamburg has been described (p. 61 above). A more ambitious effort was now made to build an opera on one of the Venetian's plays. This then appeared in Dresden in 1786 as *Das Ungeheuer oder Liebe aus Dankbarkeit, komisches Singspiel von Caterino Mazzolà,* "dramatist of the Prince of Saxony." The music was by Seidelmann, who had

[88] W. Lang, "Graf Reinhard als deutscher Dichter." *VLG,* 6, pp. 251-77.

[89] *Ephemeriden der Litteratur und des Theaters,* III, 325 ff. 1786.

already produced a score for Gotter's *Tartarisches Gesetz.* Mazzolà wrote the text of his libretto both in Italian and in German, basing the one directly upon Gozzi, the other on the Werthes translation. Though he did not follow Gozzi's version in all its ramifications, he used most advantageously the central plot of *Il mostro turchino.* In the original Italian play Zelu, a spirit of the supernal regions, because of his overweening pride in his own beauty, had been changed into a hideous blue monster. He could regain his former estate only by plunging a pair of constant, incorruptible lovers into a gulf of misfortunes and accidents. The lovers were found in Taer, Prince of Nankin, and Dardane, Princess of Georgia. They were on their way to Nankin, their home, when they were separated by Zelu, to whose grotto Dardane found her way. He acquainted her with her impending troubles and changed her into a man. After her departure, Taer, who also comes to the grotto, is changed into the form of the blue monster, while Zelu resumes his former shape. Both Taer and Dardane are warned on no account to reveal themselves.

Dardane, in man's attire, under the name of Acmed, enters Nankin and successfully rids the country of the three plagues besetting it: the blue monster, a charmed knight, and a hydra who had demanded the daily sacrifice of a maiden. Acmed is condemned to death, however, on suspicion of having poisoned the wicked queen, whose death is bound up with that of the hydra. Already in the hands of the executioner, Dardane's life is saved by the intervention of the blue monster, who reveals her identity. At the same it dawns upon Dardane that it is her Taer who has somehow been changed into the form of the monster: she declares herself enamored of him, and her husband assumes once more his own form, is recognized as the heir-apparent to the throne, and everyone is made happy.

Around this main plot were gathered minor scenes in which the famous masks found full play for their talents.

Mazzolà used a simplified form of this fiaba for his adapta-

tion. Selinde, Princess of Samarkand (Dardane), wife of Prince Kalmar of Nanking, has to fight only the monster, for neither the wicked knight nor the hydra appear. A prince of the blood royal, Salmaking, combines the weakness of King Fanfur with some of the characteristics of the Italian Pantalone; his niece, Dardenga, instead of being the voluptuous slave-queen of the original, becomes the coquette who scorns all lovers but meets her fate in the transformed Selinde. She ends more happily than her prototype, however, by accepting the heart and hand of Harmonicus (Zelu), the monster, now become a handsome youth, who has caused all the trouble. The droll humor furnished by the masks had to be abandoned. For this Mazzolà substituted an amusing episode in which a farmer, Pilks, was raised by mistake to the throne. His boorishness and vulgarity contrasted comically with the ceremony of the Chinese court. He embodied the spirit of Truffaldino for the German audience.

In the adaptation the play has been greatly condensed and not always to its advantage. Frequently in the dialogue or in the soliloquies, for instance, Gozzi has produced real feeling which touches the heart; this is much less effective in the skeleton form to which Mazzolà reduced these episodes.[40] On the other hand, Mazzolà has often omitted lengthy tirades and repetitions which tended to draw out the fiaba unduly.[41]

During the next few years, there appeared a number of operas based on the fiabe, among them *Das Reh,* by Schmohl,[42] which was performed about 1790, and *König Rabe* by Martelli, Münster, 1790.[43] Between 1791 and 1792 Walter Anton Schwick, (1753-1815), a lawyer of Münster, using Gozzi's dramas, wrote libretti for three operas, which

[40] Cf. *Il mostro turchino,* Gulindi's remorse, Act III, Sc. VII, and *Das Ungeheuer,* Act II, Sc. III; or *Il mostro turchino,* Act II. Sc. VII and VIII; and *Das Ungeheuer,* Act I, Sc. XI.

[41] Cf. *Il mostro turchino,* Act I, Sc. I and III, repeated in Act I, Sc. V; combined by Mazzolà into Act I, Sc. V; etc.

[42] A. Hauffen.

[43] H. Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* p. 264.

he entitled: *Die gefundene Statue,* 1793,[44] *Der Rabe,* 1792,[45] and *Das graue* [sic!] *Ungeheuer,* 1793.[46] The music to all was composed by Andreas Bernhard Romberg. We have been able to obtain the libretto of only one of them, Schwick's *Der Rabe,* which, however, is probably typical of the others.

The names of the masks in *Il corvo* have been changed to Badur, Dara, Caleb, and Lolo respectively; otherwise Gozzi's names have been retained. Only the essentials of the plot have been kept; practically all speeches have become songs. The first chorus: "Entkommen, entronnen dem Sturme, dem Wetter," is strongly reminiscent of the first scene of Wagner's *Fliegende Holländer.* All unnecessary material has been omitted, nothing but the chief points remain: Armilla's complaint of being captured; her father's, Norand's, curse; Jennaro's agony of soul, culminating in a trio composed of Jennaro, Armilla, and her maid, Dara, in which each of them invokes the Gods for salvation. In Act II, we are immediately transported to land, King Millo of Frattombrosa and the chorus loudly blessing the day which brings Jennaro safely back to shore. In a trio, Armilla and Millo express their mutual affection, while Jennaro falls a prey to foreboding. Act III shows Millo overcome by rage at the supposed infidelity of his brother. In sweeping lines he denounces him; all the details which Gozzi carefully inserted to motivate the action have been ruthlessly omitted. In the following act, Lolo, who has retained the mask-like character of his Italian prototype, after arousing with his drollness the curiosity of his listeners to fever pitch, finally narrates the story of Jennaro's entrance into the bridal chamber. Thereupon the action is instantaneously transferred to Jennaro's cell, where the spectators listen to his anguish, which is roused to an acute pitch upon Norand's mysterious entrance and his accusation of cowardice. After Norand's

[44] Goedeke, *Grundriss,* VII, p. 322.

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 322. Printed in Hamburg, Freistatzky and Rabe, 1794.

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 322. Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* gives the date as 1790.

exit, Millo enters and upbraids his brother; the latter, unable to bear any more, tells what has happened and turns to stone before Millo's eyes. Unhappiness reigns supreme at the Court of Frattombrosa. After a heart-rending duet with Millo, Armilla, who has heard the whole story, kills herself, so that the words of the prophecy are fulfilled. Jennaro returns to life, Norand forgives everyone, and resuscitates his daughter, and with a jubilant finale the opera terminates.

This libretto shows the aptness of the Gozzi fiaba for the opera; in that fanciful world it comes into its own. In 1794, *Der Rabe* was still applauded in the Theater am Gänsemarkt in Hamburg, where probably the other Schwick-Romberg operas also gained a hearing.

Under date of March 21, 1793, there is listed in the repertoire of the theater in Weimar a play by Vulpius: *Die entwaffnete Rachgier, Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Gozzi.* Further details concerning it have not been available.[47]

F. E. Rambach's *Die drey Räthsel,* based on Gozzi's *Turandot,* appeared in Leipzig in 1799. Like all of the Turandot progeny, it has been adequately reviewed by Köster[48] and need, therefore, be mentioned only by title here.

The beginning of the new century saw another opera, played in Prague June 1, 1800: *Der König der Geister,* by Dionys Weber,[49] which speedily met the quiet oblivion of so many of the Gozzi adaptations. The same year saw also the publication of Tieck's *Das Ungeheuer und der versauberte Wald,* which will be discussed in detail in another chapter.

All these minor productions were completely overshadowed by the fact that the great Schiller, in 1802, staged in Weimar his *Turandot.* This drama has been dissected so thoroughly and efficiently by Albert Köster[50] that it does not seem necessary to add anything to his discussion.

[47] B. Litzmann, *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen,* Bd. I, p. 123.
[48] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* pp. 173-174.
[49] Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* p. 264.
[50] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* pp. 145-234.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

As the century neared its end, the Gozzi interest seemed to turn more and more to the operatic stage. The value of the fiabe for this form of presentation had been mentioned by Schröder (cf. above p. 30), but it was Sacco of Hamburg who first acted on the suggestion. After the early nineties, the librettos adapted from Gozzi increased, as we have seen, although the other two forms of adaptation mentioned above (cf. above p. 56), the direct translation and the melodrama, were not neglected. All of these adaptations were ephemeral in nature. Their intrinsic value was slight, but their popularity, particularly with the music-loving Viennese, was considerable. All paled into insignificance before Schiller's rendering of *Turandot,* a work which set the crown upon the reproductions of Gozzi into German.

After its publication a slight pause ensued. It seemed as though a climax had been reached in Gozzi adaptations, as if no one dared measure himself with the great master. During this interval of two years there appeared, however, the first critical appraisal of Gozzi's works from a German literary historian. This was a series of letters published by Franz Horn in 1803, entitled *Über Carlo Gozzis dramatische Poesie, insbesonderheit über dessen Turandot und die Schillersche Bearbeitung dieses Schauspiels.* The author, just entering on his career as critic, discusses various types of the satire and claims that Gozzi uses "objective satire" as his weapon. "He does not care for Chiari and Goldoni *per se,* he really has no intention of destroying the effect of their plays, which were already committed to destruction by their inherent worthlessness; he visualizes the whole type that he annihilates with such ease."[1] He killed Goldoni's platitudes and Chiari's

[1] Franz Horn, *Über Carlo Gozzis dramatische Poesie,* Penig, 1803, p. 16.

artificial, forced individuality. Yet he was constructive as well as destructive. Horn continues: "If the polemic tendency were removed from *L'amore delle tre melarance,* it would lose some of its piquancy, nevertheless that vivacity of presentation, that agreeable humor, that playful parody of seriousness, in fact all its attractions, cannot be taken from it,"[2] for Gozzi was inherently a poet, even if he had never produced anything at all. Horn criticizes him, however, for calling his plays tragi-comedies. He thinks that the term "romantic" would have been far more suitable, because the audiences passed so readily from tears to laughter and from mirth to grief. "The tragic and the comic never stand alone, they have interpenetrated each other thoroughly."[3] Yet the critic feels that the instinct for wit and fancy are more deeply implanted in Gozzi than the sense of pathos.[4] "It seems as though there had been but little reflex action for tragic seriousness in the mind of our poet,—as though he had almost been forced to present it out of his head, as it were."[5] Horn goes on to say that in *L'amore delle tre melarance,* Gozzi showed a "rare abundance of dramatic talent for charming humor" and that he had attained the summit of his romantic art in *Il corvo.* Yet he carefully points out that this is by no means the zenith of all romantic art, and like Friedrich Schlegel, the young critic points to Shakespeare as the highest example. In *Turandot,* he finds that Gozzi has already deteriorated somewhat: "A just punishment for having even to a slight degree given in to the insipid pretensions of his opponents."[6] Schiller, therefore, ought not to have chosen *Turandot* by which to introduce Gozzi to Germany. Horn also censures the Weimar poet for having deepened the psychology of *Turandot:* "Schiller produces a hybrid type—a combination of novel and fairy-tale,—when he motivates Turandot's hatred for men. This ought not to have been

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 18. [3] *Ibid.,* pp. 19-21. [4] *Ibid.,* p. 73.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 74. [6] *Ibid.,* p. 104.

done. A fairy-tale does not psychologize,"[7]—it is willful, arbitrary, and this wayward caprice is the hidden spring of its charm. Doubtless Franz Horn overestimated in his youthful enthusiasm the value of Gozzi; yet many of his judgments have been justified by the mature critical opinion of later decades.[8]

In the following year, meanwhile, a new writer took courage and produced another translation from the Italian of our author, or rather changed the German of the Werthes translation to suit his own purposes. In 1804 Breitkopf und Härtel, the well-known Leipzig publishing firm, advertised *Der Rabe. Dramatisches Mährchen aus dem Italiänischen des Karl Gozzi* von G. A. Wagner. This work was carefully reviewed by a contemporary critic of the *Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung.*[9] The reviewer, recognizing the merit of Gozzi's "genialische dramatische Märchen," calls it "a not unhappy venture" on the part of the new translator. Wagner improves on the Werthes' translation in that he reproduces not only the sense of the original, but uses the meter employed by Gozzi, verse and prose alternating as they do in *Il corvo.* He is reproved, however, for having grown somewhat careless in his iambics toward the end of the play, for it seems to the critic as though the translator's patience had become exhausted and he had been in a hurry to finish the comedy. Attention is also drawn to a number of errors both in style and material; for example, Wagner speaks of the island

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 63 f.

[8] L. Bellermann is somewhat harsh in saying of Horn that his presentation causes a disagreeable impression by means of a certain obtrusive self-laudation, and a little further on in charging the critic with pedantic exactitude in scoring up petty errors against his victims. The present writer must confess to no such feeling of impatience in reading Franz Horn's book. *Schillers Werke,* Meyers Klassiker Ausgabe. L. Bellermann, Einleitung, XII, 454.

[9] *Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung,* Nr. 39. Halle and Leipzig, February, 1806. I have not been able to secure this book.

of the Giudecca as a street, which shows his ignorance of the very elements of Venetian geography. More serious is the fact that he did not do justice to the spirit of Pantalone, who is one of the most delightful of Gozzi's creations. Nevertheless, these defects did not prevent the critic from pronouncing the whole translation a creditable piece of work.

A year later appeared the opera *Scheheristany oder die Reise durch die Luft. Eine romantisch-komische Oper in zwey Aufzügen.* The music was by Johann Zapf, conductor of the orchestra in Linz. From the only libretto available,[10] comprising only the arias and songs, it is evident that at least a part of the plot is taken from Gozzi's *La donna serpente.* Scheheristany, a fairy of partly human origin (cf. Cherestani in *La donna serpente*), for her father was mortal, falls in love with King Tarandos. She appears to him as a doe, while he is hunting. Accompanied by his servant, Murzio, he follows her. They are transferred to her palace. Upon the sudden death of her father she is called away, and with her departure the palace, the food, all signs of human habitation disappear, much to the dismay of the King and his attendant. Later the fairy is instrumental in saving the lives of several mortals. The outcome of her love-affair with King Tarandos is not given. The King's follower, Murzio, and the fairy's nymph, Baliena, are strongly reminiscent of Gozzi's masks, Truffaldino and Smeraldina. It is impossible to deduce the intrinsic value of this opera from so defective a text. The fact remains, however, that *Scheheristany* is without doubt modelled upon the fifth fiaba.

Carl Streckfuss's[11] dramatic adaptations—*Zeim, König der Geister,* and *Die zwey Geheimnisse,* the latter based upon *Il re cervo*—merit the criticism of excessive seriousness

[10] In the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

[11] Carl Streckfuss (1778-1844) studied law, entered the government service and rose to the rank of Wirklicher Oberregierungsrath just before his death. *Märchen nach Gozzi.* Berlin, Unger, 1805.

given them by Köster.[12] Streckfuss is but another in the long line of German writers who failed entirely to catch the spirit of mockery and fun which is the quintessence of Gozzi-ism. Unable to use the masks, he omitted them as far as possible. Where they had to be inserted on account of the plot, Truffaldino in *Zeim* and Tartaglia in *Il re cervo,* he deleted all the drollness which makes the characters bearable, and turned them into serious melodramatic villains.

It is all but forgotten that Gozzi wrote not only plays, but short stories, in which he showed excellently the style used by the Italian artists in the "novella." Of these, eleven are preserved in the eighth volume of the first edition of his collected works. They are told with that plasticity of imagery and rapidity of action which had become characteristic of this type of literature in Italy. The fact that they had not been translated by Werthes left them utterly unknown in Germany. It is of special interest, therefore, to find printed anonymously in a German periodical of 1806 a translation of the fourth tale, of Gianni Tina, the Cobbler of Milan, bearing the title *Der juristische Schuhflicker.*[13] It is the story of a simple cobbler who had a liking for law. Through pure love of justice, he acted most unjustly toward his fellow men. Following up cases at court, he used to pass judgment upon the culprit independently of the tribunal. If the decision of the court did not coincide with his own, he would pursue the released prisoner and murder him in cold blood, not out of any feeling of private enmity, but simply because he considered him worthy of death and unjustly rescued from his proper fate by legal chicanery. He therefore took it upon himself to play the part of an avenging nemesis. Finally caught and brought to trial, he defends himself splendidly.

[12] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* pp. 228-29.

[13] *Neue Berlinische Monatsschrift,* hrsg. von Biester. XVI, Julius bis Dezember, 1806. Berlin, Nicolai.

It could not be denied that the majority of his victims had been considered by popular opinion deserving of the death penalty. Yet the state could not suffer so dangerous an executioner to remain at large among his fellow citizens. The anonymous German translator points out in a short preface his interest in the psychology of the hero of this tale: "I remember distinctly," he writes, "discussing this strange phenomenon with a friend. . . . . He used to say that he knew a number of people who, under different surroundings, would be capable of the same excesses; he called them irreproachable men of excellent reputation, only too enthusiastic for that which seemed to them a matter of justice and liberty. Basically this was probably the same frame of mind which governed later the actions of the leaders of the Revolution."[14]

The story is excellently translated and on this account, although not a stage production, deserves mention here.

While *Der juristische Schuhflicker* passed entirely unnoticed by contemporaries, an opera, based on Gozzi's *La zobeide,* was widely advertised for a whole year[15] before it was actually produced. This was Ludwig Robert's opera in three acts: *Die Sylphen,*[16] the music being composed by Friedrich Heinrich Himmel, conductor of the Prussian Court orchestra.

A cursory glance at the dramatis personae of *Die Sylphen* reveals at once the fact that Robert changed radically the names of the characters of his opera, usually substituting others more acceptable to his audiences because they more nearly approximated those of other operas. Particularly effective is the change wrought in the masks. The well-

[14] *Ibid.,* XVI, 1806.

[15] *Wiener Theaterzeitung,* Heft 18, November 8, 1806.

[16] *Die Sylphen. Eine Zauberoper in drey Aufzügen nach Gozzi* von Robert. Berlin, 1806. Bei Rudolph Werckmeister.

known Mozart figures of Papagena and Papageno, and Leporello are used in place of Smeraldina, Truffaldino, and Brighella; while the names of Larifari and Minnewart, replacing Pantalone and Tartaglia, were self-explanatory. In addition, Robert superimposed upon Gozzi's fiaba and wove into it a whole structure of sylphs, male and female, after whom the opera is named. The main plot adheres closely to the story of the Italian fiaba. The connecting link between the world of sylphs and of humans is the heroine, Zobea, the child of Osmar, King of Ormus and a Princess of the sylphs. After suffering tortures very similar to those of her prototype, Zobeide, she is finally made happy by being united with Zelu[17], prince of the sylphs and protecting genius of the good characters of the opera. In addition to transforming the old Calendar Abdalac into the young and charming Genius Zelu, another happy change consisted in having Zobea merely betrothed to the wicked sorcerer Sinabel instead of having her married to him, as is the case in the Italian version. This paved the way to their union in the end. The fundamental idea, therefore, which moved Ludwig Robert to insert a world of supernatural beings into Gozzi's story, was good. It is to be regretted that the execution did not measure up to the promise. The new element was not knit closely enough with the old to produce a harmonious unity of action, and the effect of the whole was, therefore, confusing and difficult of comprehension, although separate scenes afforded a good deal of enjoyment. The audiences felt embarrassed by the multiplicity of detail which, although imposing to the eye and ear, was bewildering to the mind.[18] It is not surprising therefore that but few performances of this opera are recorded in the annals of the theatre.

La zobeide attracted at almost the same time the attention

[17] Cf. Zelou Genius, in *Il mostro turchino.*

[18] *Wiener Theaterzeitung,* Heft 18, November 8, 1806.

of Friedrich Treitschke,[19] who made of it a "romantic drama" in five acts. It was printed in the *Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1807*. In the "Intelligenzblatt" of the *Neue Leipziger Litteraturzeitung* an article discussing it states: "Only the fashion which has changed everything nowadays to 'Taschenbücher' has placed this play among those published this year."[20] Treitschke adhered closely to Gozzi's drama. He raised the character of Sinadab so that he became a truly romantic figure, rather than merely a heartless villain:

> Mein Elend ist—das Unmass meiner Kraft.
> Zu wenig gab mir die Natur zum *Gott,*
> Zu viel zum *Menschen.*[21]

The masks cause Treitschke as many difficulties as they had his predecessors. He adopted the method employed by Ludwig Robert, replacing them by four comic figures of the German stage. He justified his experiment in a preface[22] in which he states that the Italian masks in themselves furnish the finest example of amusing stock figures used as a contrast to the unknown tragic characters of the play. By this argument he tries to justify the term "romantic drama." Köster has discussed this comic element at sufficient length,[23] pointing out that "if ever a fiaba by Gozzi is to make an impression upon our [the German] stage, it will be possible only when a real poet turns to reproducing the action of the fairy-drama, without stooping to experiment with minor characters."[24]

[19] Friedrich Treitschke (1776-1842), poet and entomologist, was active as actor, manager, director, and financier at the Hoftheater in Vienna from 1792 until his death.

[20] *Neue Leipziger Litteraturzeitung,* Intelligenzblatt, 4. Stück, January 24, 1807.

[21] Friedrich Treitschke, *Zobeis,* Wien, Degen, p. 157.

[22] *Ibid.,* Vorwort zu *Zobeis,* pp. v-viii.

[23] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 229 ff.

[24] *Ibid.,* p. 231.

During the same year the *Theaterzeitung von Bäuerle*[25] advertised a version "of the wittiest and most amusing of all of Gozzi's plays, *Il re cervo,* newly rendered into German by G. L. P. Sievers of Braunschweig." It was produced at the Magdeburg Theater. Unfortunately it has not been possible to secure this book. Its author at the same time published two articles[26] seeking to explain Gozzi, which furnish an excellent example of the idealized interpretation of the Italian dramatist given by the exponents of German Romanticism.

The year 1807 was destined to be fruitful for Gozzi interpretations in Germany. A. J. Guttenberg[27] adapted Schiller's *Turandot* for the Theater an der Wien. His version differs from Schiller's principally in that it reduced many long, explanatory speeches to a minimum; transferred the action from China to Persia, changing Emperor Altoum into Cosru, Sofi of Persia, but keeping all the other names, including the masks. In brief, von Guttenberg adapted *Turandot* for a certain, definite stage, with a view primarily to meeting its needs.

By this time, Gozzi had become so popular that the publisher, J. E. Hitzig, the friend of Zacharias Werner, Clemens Brentano, and E. T. A. Hoffmann, felt justified in issuing an Italian edition of the fiabe in three volumes.[28] In the first, is contained a very good prefatory note, in which Hitzig explains his undertaking:

[25] *Theaterzeitung von Bäuerle,* Nr. 17, November 2, 1807.

[26] *Ibid.,* October 10 and November 2, 1807.

[27] *Turandot. Ein tragikomisches Märchen von Schiller.* Für das K.K. privilegierte Theater an der Wien in drey Aufzügen bearbeitet von A. J. Guttenberg, Wien, bei Anton Pichler, 1807.

[28] It bears a double title: *Le dieci fiabe teatrali del Conte Carlo Gozzi;* and, *Le opere del Conte Carlo Gozzi.* Berlin, 1808. *Die allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (cf. J. E. Hitzig, biography, article on J. E. Hitzig), erroneously gives 1809 and 1810 as the dates of publication.

"Within a short period of time there have followed upon one another versions of several plays of Carlo Gozzi by recent German authors, such as *Turandot* by Schiller, *Der Rabe* by Franz Horn, Wagner, Streckfuss, *Der König Hirsch* by Sievers, *Zobeis* by Treitschke, and the opera *Die Sylphen.* These have awakened in Germany an interest in this excellent poet, and the necessity for a correct and moderately priced edition of his works is felt to be urgent, the more so because those published in Italy are not only rare but also extremely expensive. The undersigned editor of the first edition appearing in his country believes therefore that he has not undertaken an unnecessary task by doing this and, if the public will support his effort, he will use all zeal and strain every nerve to publish the continuation in as short a time as possible."[29]

Hitzig based his edition on that of Venice, 1772, omitting the "Ragionamenti," the contents of which, as purely polemical in nature, were deemed unnecessary for an appreciation of the fiabe, so that their publication would only have materially increased the cost of the books, without adding anything to the enjoyment afforded by them. Doubtless the issue of the Italian Gozzi was instigated by Hitzig's literary friends, who must have rejoiced in thus being able to read the fairy-dramas in the original.

During the same year, Johann Friedrich Reichardt[30] was working on an opera, *Das Blaue Ungeheuer,* during the period of his activity at the French court in Cassel. Clemens Brentano heard the overture while he was on a visit there and enjoyed the music very much,[31] but criticized Reichardt severely for attempting to write the libretto himself. By

[29] Vorrede zu *Le opere del Conte Carlo Gozzi.* Tomo I. Berlin, 1808.

[30] Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814), the musician, one of the most interesting figures of his time. He composed the music for many of Goethe's Singspiele.

[31] Rudolf Steig: *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen.* Stuttgart, 1894, I, 232.

December, 1808, Reichardt had finished the third act.[32] Though the work is listed (without date) among Reichardt's musical compositions for the stage,[33] the attempt to find it proved unsuccessful. Just as fruitless were all endeavors to locate an opera entitled *Turandot oder die Räthsel; tragikomische Oper in zwei Aufzügen nach Gozzi und Schiller.* Musik von J. F. G. Blumröder, München, 1809.[34]

It is an interesting fact that, throughout this epoch, the majority of the greatest literary men which Germany and Austria produced were interested in, and under the influence of, Carlo Gozzi at some stage in their career. Franz Grillparzer proved no exception. *Il corvo* captured his fancy while he was still a very young boy. "My whole power of imagination concentrated upon Gozzi's *Corvo* in German translation, which I preferred greatly to the dramas of Goethe, Schiller, and Shakespeare," he wrote in his autobiography.[35] At first he intended to turn the play into an opera.[36] After writing two scenes, however, he abandoned the project and on August 22, 1814, he began to translate it.[37] These fragments, to which belongs a third, consisting of part of Act II, Scene I, as well as Grillparzer's later unsuccessful attempt to interest Bauernfeld in the project, have been thoroughly and admirably discussed and Grillparzer's

[32] August Sauer, *Franz Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke,* II, 4, p. 481.

[33] Vide *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie,* article "Joh. Fr. Reichardt."

[34] Goedecke, *Grundriss,* V. Riemann, *Opernhandbuch,* Leipzig, 1886, lists it under "Blumenröder," 1810. "Bleichröder" is another variant of the name given by August Sauer, *Franz Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke,* II, 4, p. 481.

[35] Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. A. Sauer, Cotta, XIX, 26 f. "Selbstbiographie."

[36] Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. A. Sauer, Wien, II, 4, p. 275. "Selbstbiographie."

[37] *Der Rabe, ein tragikomisches Märchen.* (Übersetzung des *Corvo* vom Grafen Carlo Gozzi.) Cf. *Werke,* ed. A. Sauer, Wien, II, 4, pp. 279-306.

text correlated to both the original and Werthes' versions by Wolfgang von Wurzbach.[38] Stefan Hock, in his analysis of *Der Traum ein Leben* traces Gozzi's influence upon this play also. He says:

> The fantastic fairy comedies of Gozzi so greatly beloved in Vienna have their influence upon the costume of the play and determined in addition many other individual features. There appear dreadful serpents upon the stage *(Donna serpente; Corvo);* proud princesses and weak fathers *(Turandot)* belong to the same type as Gülnare and the King. An incident in the *Corvo,* which Grillparzer knew from early childhood and repeatedly wished to adapt, coincides almost literally with some verses of *Der Traum ein Leben.* The situation, too, is very similar. Scene: Jennaro is in the antechamber of the king; Millo[39] finds him and orders his arrest. "Que' traditori Ch' osan col ferro ignudo, con un colpo spezzar l'ultima porta?" In a similar situation Rustan says to Karkhan:
>
> Schafft sie fort, die Hochverräther!—
> Blinkt nicht noch in euren Händen
> Der Empörung freche Stahl?[40]

As in the case of Goethe, Grillparzer's interest in Gozzi never entirely left him. As late as 1837 he wrote, apropos of Raimund: "If Raimund had written three plays of the value of the *Alpenkönig,* his name would never be forgotten in the history of German poetry, as little as Gozzi's name in the annals of the Italians."[41]

While Grillparzer was working on *Il corvo,* the Theater in der Leopoldstadt was producing a fairy-opera called *Die Abenteuer von der Schlangenburg,* both the text and score of which were written by the orchestral conductor Volkert.[42]

[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 482-98.

[39] Stefan Hock erroneously ascribes this speech to Leander.

[40] Stefan Hock, *Der Traum ein Leben,* p. 32.

[41] Franz Grillparzer, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Necker, Leipzig, XIV, 123. "Österreichische Schriftsteller, Raimund (1837)."

[42] Performed June 25, July 9, August 12, August 6, 1814, in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt. *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* Nr. 81, 1814.

This opera, the heroine of which was a kind of Turandot, whose pride is humbled by the solution of a riddle by Samor, Prince of Andalusia, stood out among the "insipid, fairy performances" of the period by having unity of plot and action.[43]

Already in the early eighties of the preceding century the Viennese actor Schletter had, as we have seen,[44] translated *La principessa filosofa,* Carlo Gozzi's adaptation of Moreto's play, *El desdén con el desdén.* This comedy now found an exponent who was to do it full justice, who, in fact, improved and modernized it in many particulars. Josef Schreyvogel, secretary of the Hoftheater and dramatist of the Burgtheater, who assumed the pseudonyms of Thomas West and Karl August West, accomplished this task in his masterpiece, *Donna Diana.* His keen interest in Gozzi is evidenced by a few quotations from his diary in the period when the Italian dramatist was beginning to cast his spell over him.[45]

November 28, 1815. Night. *Das befreite Venedig* is too gloomy a subject for my present mood. I have begun Gozzi, to see if perchance I may find material in him.

Have read Gozzi's *Die Frau eine Schlange.* It has much vivacity and interest; perhaps I shall adapt it.

Morning, November 29, 1815. Already I am reading a second play by Gozzi *(Das blaue Ungeheuer)* which is but too reminiscent of *Zemir und Azor* but in other particulars deserves praise. [Schreyvogel must have read Gozzi in the Werthes' translation, for he uses Werthes' titles throughout.]

Noon. This Gozzi is a wonderful man! I want to read him

[43] Meanwhile it is of some interest that Schiller's *Turandot* had passed the boundaries of Germany and, translated into foreign languages, was being acted upon foreign stages. The first of these was a Danish version by M. F. Liebenberg (*Turandot,* Kjøbenhavn, 1815). The author of this version (1767-1828) was a famous preacher, and father of F. L. Liebenberg, the well-known Danish literary historian.

[44] Cf. above, p. 65.

[45] *Josef Schreyvogels Tagebücher* (1810-1823) hrsg. v. Karl Glossy, 1903, Berlin, II, 134 ff.

straight through, and hope to find material for more than one play. He held the Spaniards in high esteem.

Night. December 1. I spent the afternoon looking once more through Yngurd and re-reading *Das blaue Ungeheuer.* I am still undecided whether or not to adapt the latter.

I was to-day at Count ——'s. I gave him *Das blaue Ungeheuer* to read.

December 3. Night. Gozzi, whom I continued to read, gives me great pleasure, particularly with his comic characters.

December 14. I have again found a play by Gozzi after the Spaniard Moreto *(El Desdén con el desdén)* which may result in a good comedy. I am not lacking in subject-matter.

December 19. Noon. Regardless of my present annoying relationship to the theatre I have to focus my attention upon it. I must come at once to a decision regarding the adaptation of a new play, probably one of Gozzi's.

December 26. I have Moreto in the original; Gozzi followed *El Desdén con el desdén* step by step, but has really improved the play.

Night. Of the Spaniards, Calderón and Moreto furnish a dramatic library in themselves. Gozzi, Alfieri, and Goldoni deserve special attention.

Schreyvogel's diary has been quoted at such length because it shows how the dramatist's attention was first attracted by the fiabe; how the reading of *La principessa filosofa* led him to the Spaniard Moreto; how he carefully compared the Spanish and Italian versions of the play, and finally gained inspiration therefrom to write his own. It is rarely that a development can be followed so accurately step by step.

Donna Diana is written in the iambic pentameter, with rhyme combinations suggestive of Spanish models. The author indicates, in a preface to the first edition of the play,[46]

[46] *Donna Diana.* Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen. Nach dem Spanischen des Don Augustin Moreto von Karl August West. Original Ausgabe für die Öesterreichische Monarchie, nach freundschaftlicher Übereinkunft mit dem rechtmässigen Verleger. Wien, bei Johannes Bapt. Wallishauser, 1819.

his method of dealing with the material. He points out that he made use of Gozzi's emendations as far as the difference in national taste permitted. He elevated, however, the character of the princess once more to her Spanish grandeur, which had suffered somewhat under Gozzi's manner, always inclining to the burlesque. Perin (in the original, the gracioso, Polilla; in Gozzi, Truffaldino disguised under the name of Gianetto) had been raised to a higher level by Gozzi and in this particular Schreyvogel has followed suit. Gozzi's influence upon Don Cesar was also for the better and Gozzi's words and ideas were accordingly in the German version. In addition, we may note that Schreyvogel, who had a very sound dramatic instinct, threw overboard much of the philosophic ballast of the *Princess* which could be of no interest to his audiences.

Better motivation on an important point was introduced in the printed edition and therefore in the stage productions subsequent to 1819. In the earlier manuscript as well as in the Gozzi version, the two princes, Luis and Gaston, continue their wooing of Diana practically to the very end, and no motivation justifies their sudden proposal to, and acceptance by, her two cousins. This is a rather wooden variation from the procedure in the Spanish play, where there was but one lady to be bestowed and the Prince of Bearne was accepted by her.[47] There is more excuse for this conventional attitude in the Spanish version than in the Italian and German adaptations, because an old Spanish custom ordained that, at the end of the comedy, all single women had to have husbands, even though the latter might be comparative

[47] Wolfgang von Wurzbach in his article "Das spanische Drama am Wiener Hofburgtheater zur Zeit Grillparzers," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft* VIII, 111, errs in ascribing two cousins to Diana in the version by Moreto. He also considers Schreyvogel responsible for deepening the character of Don Gaston, who is colorless in the Spanish. This was, however, done by Gozzi and borrowed by Schreyvogel.

strangers to them. Schreyvogel-West felt the need of motivating on a more profound psychological basis the marriage of these two couples. Two scenes were therefore added, in which each of the princes declared his love to the lady of his choice and was accepted, so that the apparent acceptance of Don Luis and Donna Laura as husband and wife respectively of Donna Diana and Don Cesar becomes a mere ruse conceived in the fertile brain of Perin. That such a motivation corresponded more to German taste than the Spanish custom and therefore greatly enhanced the dramatic power of the whole play is, of course, self-evident. Grillparzer,[48] however, who felt that, while advantageous to the understanding of the play, too much emphasis was being laid upon the minor characters in a third act which was already too crowded with content, suggested certain changes which Schreyvogel did not adopt and which on that account need not be discussed here in greater detail.

Mention should be made of the fact that the plot of *El Desdén con el desdén* was not original with Moreto, but that the idea of conquering pride by greater pride had already been used in five comedies previously, and that both Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina[49] had written plays on the subject. In one of these, *Los Milagros del desprecio,* the plot is guided by the *gracioso* Hernando. Moreto, keeping Polilla in the character of *gracioso,* felt rightly that Lope de Vega had given too important a part to a servant. He therefore had Don Cesar himself evolve the plan with which he was to vanquish Donna Diana, so that Polilla is subordinate to the dictates of his master. Gozzi, probably not at all cognizant

[48] *Franz Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Necker, Leipzig, XI, 103 f. "Zu Schreyvogels Donna Diana."

[49] Lope de Vega: *La hermosa fea; El perro del hortelano; Los milagros del desprecio.* Tirso de Molina: *Celos con celos se curan; Del enemigo el primer consejo.* Cf. Gisbert Freiherr von Vincke, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Bühnengeschichte. Spanische Schauspiele in Deutschland,* pp. 148-70.

of the fact that Lope de Vega had written this play, caused the action to be led once more by Hernando-Polilla-Gianetto, who, however, is raised to the dignity of secretary to his mistress Donna Diana—Teodora in the third incarnation. Once more Schreyvogel-West followed the Italian version.

Donna Diana was first performed at the Burgtheater in Vienna on November 18, 1816. So popular did it become that this theater alone, down to June 26, 1894, had staged it 122 times.[50] On May 31,[51] 1817, its première occurred in Breslau. Nothing further appears, until the news of its performance in Leipzig on the following twenty-fourth of September. This was succeeded by six performances in Leipzig during that year,[52] eleven in 1818, and then it became part of the repertoire which was regularly played a number of times every year.[53] In 1818 it was played again in Breslau, and was taken up by Weimar,[54] Darmstadt, Cassel, Braunschweig, and Karlsruhe, and once played, it became an integral part of the repertoires of these stages, where it maintained itself for years. In 1819 it delighted audiences in Hamburg, Berlin, Potsdam, Prague, Hannover, Bamberg, Hessen, and Mayence, in addition to the places already mentioned. In 1820 Würzburg, Lauchstädt, Schleswig-Holstein, Magdeburg, Reval, Innsbruck, and Halle were added to the list. Its triumphal progress captured Stuttgart, Erfurt, Gotha, Frankfort, and Danzig in the following year, so that within five years of its first production there was scarcely an important theatre in Germany which had not enjoyed *Donna Diana.* There are few comedies that can boast of as successful a run as Schreyvogel's adaptation of this Moreto-

[50] Otto Rub, *Das Burgtheater in Wien,* 1776-1913. Wien, Knepler, 1913, p. 47.

[51] Karl Theodor Hell, *Tagebuch der deutschen Bühnen.* Jahrgang 1817.

[52] *Ibid.,* Jahrgang, 1818.

[53] *Ibid.,* Jahrgänge 1819-1830.

[54] All these statistics are to be found in the books of Karl Theodor Hell, mentioned in the above footnote.

Gozzi play, which in this regard established a new tradition for comedy in Germany.

On March 2, 1816, Schreyvogel[55] had written to Kotzebue, asking him to "nationalize" one of Gozzi's dramas for the German stage and commiserating the fact that Schiller, "who had everything except a sense of humor," had adapted one of the colder fairy-tales, the dubious reception of which had frightened away from them other talents more fit for such an undertaking. It was probably beneficial to the German stage that Kotzebue did not take advantage of this opportunity, for had he done so, Schreyvogel might not have written *Donna Diana.* There is scarcely another play of its type which has so thoroughly entered into the spirit of a foreign drama and has assimilated it to the degree which this one has done. Eduard von Bauernfeld,[56] discussing it in his essay on "Die schöne Litteratur in Österreich" in 1835, wrote:

> Even A. von Schlegel's famous translation of Shakespeare cannot be compared with this. This play stands alone and is a permanent acquisition for the German stage. The reason for this may be sought in its fascinating psychological aspects: the development of the heroine, the self-control of its hero—and between them moves the confidant of both, adding fire to flame on the one side, while he preaches icy coldness on the other. These characteristics and circumstances keep their charm for ever and assure *Donna Diana* of a permanent place in German comedy.

Schreyvogel's astounding success entirely obscured a heroic-comical musical version of *Turandot,* which appeared on February 8, 1817, as an opera in two acts, by Franz Danzi.[57] It was performed twice in Karlsruhe, but was quite

[55] *Tagebücher,* p. 435.

[56] Eduard von Bauernfeld, *Gesammelte Aufsätze,* hrsg. von Stefan Hock, p. 149.

[57] E. Reipschläger, *Schubaur, Danzi, und Poissl als Opernkomponisten,* Berlin, 1911, p. 77.

unsuccessful. Three months later a new adaptation of Gozzi's *Il corvo* was produced for the first time under the title of: *Der Kampf mit der Riesenschlange oder der Leuchtthurm auf der Rubineninsel,*[58] with music by Volkert. It was played on April 19 for the benefit of the author, the actor and singer Carl Schikaneder. It was written in the manner of Emanuel Schikaneder's magic operas and therefore did not appeal to the audience of 1817, particularly as the staging was lacking in paraphernalia sufficient to meet its demands. It does not seem to have been produced again.

Adolf Bäuerle's *Verwunschener Prinz,*[59] which appeared in 1818, contains a number of motifs which clearly point to the influence of Gozzi. The prince is changed into a wild beast and it is the constant love of Zamire, who remains faithful to him even in so ferocious a guise, that disenchants him and allows him to resume his own shape (cf. *Il mostro turchino*). The father, Sandelholz, smacks strongly of Truffaldino, while the "Tischlein deck' dich" and the circumstances connected with it are almost identical with a similar incident in *La donna serpente.*

The fiaba which had been acclaimed such an universal favorite in the early days of the Gozzi vogue in Germany[60] and which had then entirely disappeared from the boards, *I pitocchi fortunati,* was destined to be revived once more in 1818 by G. N. Bärmann,[61] under the already well-known title of *Die Glücklichen Bettler.* It was first performed in Hamburg on January 16, 1818. The first task of every translator seems to be to change the names of at least some of the

[58] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung* auf den 24. April, 1817. Nr. 49.

[59] Reprinted in Rudolf Fürst, *Raimunds Vorgänger,* Berlin.

[60] Cf. above, p. 31.

[61] Georg Nicolaus Bärmann, *Die Glücklichen Bettler. Ein tragikomisches Maskenspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Frei nach dem Italienischen des Carlo Gozzi für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet.* Leipzig, Kollmann, 1819. Bärmann (1785-1850) was principal of a school until 1837. After that date he devoted himself entirely to his literary work.

characters of the play which he is using for his model. Perhaps the psychological effect of this gives him a greater feeling of independence—he feels himself less the translator, more the adapter, in whose work there is some spark of originality. Bärmann was no exception to this rule. He changed primarily the names of the masks, save Pantalone's, who, however, lost his own rôle in the play and had to assume the part of Brighella. The drama is written in iambic tetrameter and pentameter, and is based on the Werthes translation of Gozzi.[62]

Bärmann adhered very closely to the plot of the Italian version, making only a minor change near the end.[63] His attempt to deepen the characters of Zemrude and Asmolane by making them the exponents of modern womanhood, are weak and unmotivated. Gozzi had preserved them as true Oriental women (or at least as the common conception of Oriental women) and as such they are much better fitted for the play. Bärmann lengthened the drama by unnecessary lines to such an extent that it becomes wearisome to anyone acquainted with the Gozzi version. In his attempt to change the masks into amusing characters, he has sacrificed the simple directness of the original. His humor seems forced, not spontaneous like Gozzi's. In short, Bärmann added nothing of value, but lost a great deal in his adaptation.[64]

About this time there appeared in a Viennese journal[65] a

[62] It would be easy to prove this assertion by citing lines from the Gozzi version which both Werthes and Bärmann left out, e.g. Act I, Sc. I: "Amanti in quegli arnesi! Qual facezia è mai questa!" Many instances of literal transcription from Werthes may also be adduced.

[63] Act V, Sc. V, to the end.

[64] It seems strange that it should have been reprinted as No. 36 of the *Classische Theater-Bibliothek aller Nationen.* Stuttgart, Carl Hoffmann, 1868. Such was the case, however.

[65] "Die Seelenwanderung. Ein Märchen," von J. F. Castelli. *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1819, p. 83 ff. Castelli, a Viennese poet, was born in the Danube capital in 1781 and died there in 1862.

very amusing poem called *Die Seelenwanderung.* In twenty-seven stanzas of six lines each the poet relates the story of a King Koliko, who is the victim of gross deception by his most intimate friend. The "Seelenwanderung," or transmigration of souls, depends in this case on the speaking of a magic word, the effect of which causes the soul of the speaker to pass into any dead body close at hand. The King's soul enters a deer. During the interval the false friend takes possession of the royal body, the throne, and the Queen, who is entirely unsuspecting of the treachery which has taken place. In the end the King, after having successively entered the bodies of a nightingale and a small dog,[66] succeeds in destroying the imposter and assumes again his own form. As the reader will have already noted, the story of this poem is taken with some unimportant changes from Gozzi's *Il re cervo.*

It has been stated that the popularity of a play on the Vienna stage could be gauged by the number of parodies written upon it. One of these appeared on November 7, 1820, in the Leopoldstädter Theater. The billboards announced: *"Maranterl oder die drei Räthsel. Zauberoper nach Schillers Turandot mit Gesängen und Tänzen* in zwei Aufzügen. Die Musik teils aus beliebten Opern teils original von Hrn. Kapellmeister Volkert."[67] It was an absolutely empty, frivolous travesty on Schiller's play. A comical wanderer fills the dreary interval from the beginning to the main scene, in which the riddles are presented to him, with jests, foolish replies, jocose, ambiguous, or merely stupid ideas. For a moment the attention is focused upon the solution of the riddles, which are reproduced in the form of pictures upon the backdrop. The fact that Ferdinand Raimund and

[66] In Gozzi's version, bird and dog are the two creatures mentioned into which the soul may pass. Cf. above, p. 17.

[67] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode.* 1820. Nr. 140.

the actress Ennökl played the two leading parts bestowed an unmerited honor upon an otherwise insipid piece. It was staged only once after this, on February 2, 1823.[68]

On January 18, 1821, the first performance of *Die Silberschlange,* a pantomime in two acts by the Master of Ballet Horschelt, was given at the Theater an der Wien.[69] This ballet and pantomime was treated quite in a Gozziesque manner. Its story is somewhat as follows: While the Fairy Alzimonda is hunting, Zoro, the King of Owls, snatches from her hand the magic wand, which is at the same time the emblem and the seat of her power. He exiles her into the depths of the earth and places the silver serpent over her as guardian. Later the wand is stolen from the wicked sorcerer and the fairy once more ascends her throne. The action in the world of the comic masks is just as simple. Arlequin loves Colombine who has been promised to Sir Crash by her father, Pantalone. Their mutual affection is discovered, and Arlequin is evicted from the house. He wanders into the magic forest, where the silver serpent provides him with a magic palette by means of which he is able to perpetrate many a joke upon Pantalone, Pierrot and his rival. Finally the talisman is instrumental in gaining him the consent of Pantalone. Incidentally he meets the King of Owls, tears the magic wand from his grasp and frees Alzimonda. It is quite evident that the bond uniting these two actions is too loose. Moreover, the performance lacked the southern vivacity, the ever-ready merry humor, the quick wit, which plays with itself as well as with the audience. Yet the influence of Gozzi (*La donna serpente*) is very evident. The pantomime was repeated at the same theatre on February 5, 1821.[70]

A few months earlier, Sendler, in Vienna, published a

[68] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* 1823, Nr. 16.

[69] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1821, Nr. 11.

[70] *Ibid.,* I, Nr. 20.

three-act drama entitled *Der Sturz in den Abgrund,*[71] by Franz Karl Graf von Riesch,[72] the lyric poet, who wrote under the pseudonym of Franz Seewald. In spite of strenuous endeavors it has been impossible to locate a copy of this work. Wurzbach, who mentioned it (cf. note 71), errs in thinking it was never staged. A performance of it took place on August 12, 1821, in Reval.[73]

Another successful adaptation was to be made in Vienna, again at the hands of a Viennese actor, Wenzel Tremler,[74] who played and wrote under the nom de plume of Lembert. He bent his energies to bringing forth a new version of *Das öffentliche Geheimnis* (cf. above pp. 37-42). In his preface he states that he had undertaken the adaptation of this play only because Schreyvogel had assured him that he would not have time to carry out his intention of doing so himself, as his activities were far too numerous to permit him the leisure necessary for such work. Tremler-Lembert used both the Italian and the German[75] versions of Calderón's play, as shown on the title-page of the edition published in 1824 by Tendler and von Manstein in Vienna. Gozzi's influence is particularly noticeable in the number and importance of the comic figures of the play.

Although Tremler-Lembert does not approximate the style and language of Schreyvogel, yet his work merits the applause which it earned in Berlin, Hamburg and Leipzig. Nevertheless, certain contemporary critics raised the same objections to it that their predecessors had done four decades earlier. It cannot be gainsaid, however, that Lembert's work

[71] W. Wurzbach, *Das spanische Drama zur Zeit Grillparzers.* Wien, 1898, p. 23.

[72] Born in Vienna, 1792. Died in Neschwitz, Saxony, 1833.

[73] Karl Theodor Hell. Jahrgang 1821.

[74] J. Wenzel Tremler, born in 1780 in Prague, died in 1830 in Vienna. Was engaged in 1817 as member of the Burgtheater, Vienna.

[75] By J. D. Gries.

is a distinct improvement upon that of F. W. Gotter.[76] *Das öffentliche Geheimnis* was first presented in the Burgtheater, Vienna, on December 18, 1820,[77] when it was acclaimed enthusiastically. A year later Berlin,[78] Hamburg, Dresden, Leipzig, Stuttgart and Hannover[79] were staging it. It was maintained on these stages for a number of years, and in 1822 Munich[80] was added to the list. Braunschweig, Frankfort and Weimar,[81] produced it for the first time in 1823, while Cassel enjoyed it in 1824. The last performances listed were those at Reval,[82] where it was played twice in 1828, after which it lapsed into oblivion.

The Leipzig "Taschenbuch," *Minerva,*[83] offered through a series of numbers a "gallery" of copper engravings to illustrate Schiller's dramas. In the year 1820 this collection came to a conclusion with two engravings representing *Turandot.* The pictures are preceded by a panegyric on Carlo Gozzi, in which the opinion is expressed that so exotic a plant as the Commedia dell'Arte could not be expected to take root in the colder German clime. A synopsis of Schiller's play is appended, as well as an interpretation of the pictures which, though interesting from a historical point of view, are utterly devoid of charm to the mind accustomed to modern art.

Not satisfied, evidently, with Schreyvogel-West's *Donna Diana,* an anonymous writer tried his hand at another Ger-

[76] See above, pp. 37-42.

[77] W. v. Wurzbach, *Das spanische Drama am Wiener Hofburgtheater zur Zeit Grillparzers,* p. 122.

[78] T. Hell, *Tagebuch der deutschen Bühnen,* Jahrgang 1821.

[79] *Ibid.,* Jahrgang 1822.

[80] *Ibid., Jahrgang* 1822. August 15, 1822, first performance.

[81] *Ibid.,* Jahrgang 1823.

[82] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1828, Nr. 68.

[83] *Minerva, Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1820.* Leipzig. 12ter Jahrgang.

man version of Gozzi's *Principessa filosofa.*[84] When Gozzi adapted his version from the Spanish, he named the heroine "Teodora," probably in honor of Teodora Ricci, the actress for whom the title rôle was intended. This latest German translator followed in the footsteps of the Venetian, adhering closely to the Italian version, even to the point of keeping the name "Theodora," and calling his play by that title. He has the action take place in Spain, and uses Germanized versions of Gozzi's names, making of Theodora's father a German knight living in Spain. In plot and language he followed Werthes almost literally, merely turning the latter's energetic prose into somewhat stilted verse. He tried to improve upon Secretary Gianetto by having him intersperse his speeches continually with foreign phrases. This becomes tiresome to the audience, however, and the attempt at improvement was entirely unsuccessful. Gianetto's attitude toward his mistress is most disrespectful and jars upon the reader, because he has lost the mask-like character which excused such liberties. For example, he says of Theodora (Act I, Scene I):

> Secreto stell' ich ihr die schönsten Schlingen,
> Mir ist's als hätten wir den Vogel schon.

Taken as a whole, therefore, this play is much weaker than *La principessa filosofa.* It has not gained anything in place of that which it has lost.

The musical play by Pixis *Der Zauberspruch,* the text of which is based on E. T. A. Hoffmann's account of *Der Rabe,*[85] which was performed for the first time on April 25, 1822, in Vienna, will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with the romanticist.

Ferdinand Raimund, the greatest popular poet of German Austria, whose works have become the common property of

[84] *Theodora. Schauspiel in drei Abteilungen nach Carlo Gozzi.* Hamm, im Auftrage bei Schultz und Wundermann, 1821.

[85] Cf. below, p. 145.

the German nation, states distinctly in his autobiography[86] that he was entirely unacquainted with Gozzi's works at the time that he wrote his plays. Nevertheless, a nature as sensitive as Raimund's must have been influenced strongly, though perhaps unconsciously, by an author who made himself felt in Germany and Austria so powerfully as Gozzi had done. Their talent was somewhat alike, though their attitude toward life and the theatre differed greatly. It is not surprising, therefore, that the same story of the Arabian Nights, that of the ninth rose statue, should have appealed to them both. Raimund's use of it in the *Diamant des Geisterkönigs* closely resembles the plot as used by Gozzi in *Zeim, re de' genj*. Another motif used by both authors is the adventure of the singing tree, which Raimund incorporated in the play mentioned above, and Gozzi in his *Augellino belverde;* while the successful methods employed by the hero in the German comedy to win the statue and placate the king of the genii are strongly reminiscent of a similar situation in *L'amore delle tre melarance.*

Though it is doubtful whether Raimund ever read or saw *Zeim, re de' genj,* it is certain that he had read *La donna serpente* before he wrote his *Verschwender.* In Gozzi's fiaba is shown the love of King Farruscad for the Fairy Cherestani, who appeared to him as a milk-white doe while he was hunting, and who became his wife only after he had promised never to inquire into her antecedents. He disregards her request and she disappears. During their separation, Farruscad, half crazed by sorrow and remorse, roams around the desert. Suddenly he is overpowered by magic sleep. The desert becomes a garden; in the distance appears Cherestani's palace. Gentle music accompanies this transformation. Far-

[86] Ferdinand Raimund, "Selbstbiographie," *Raimunds Werke,* ed. Glossy und Sauer, III, 524. The genuineness of this biography and the statements made therein are doubted by Rudolf Fürst, *Raimunds Werke,* I, xxxii.

ruscad awakens, hastens to the palace, and is met by Cherestani, who reveals to him her supernatural character. She adjures him to endure whatever may befall and never to doubt or curse her, and they part after a heartbreaking farewell.

Similarly in the *Verschwender,* the spendthrift Flottwell is beloved by a fairy Cheristane. (Cf. similarity of the names: Cherestani, Cheristane.) He loves her and wishes to marry her, but in protecting him she has exhausted her power and is about to leave him until they shall be forever united after his death in the limitless realms of love.

Following the example of so many of his predecessors, the Orchestral Director, Franz Gläser,[87] composed a fairy opera, *Heliodor, Beherrscher der Elemente,* which was based on one of Gozzi's fiabe.[88] Two years prior to its first performance this work had been submitted to the stage director of the Theater in der Josephstadt in Vienna, Carl Franz Hensler. It could not be staged as originally planned, however, because just at the crucial moment Raimund produced his *Diamant des Geisterkönigs,* which is based on the same story as *Heliodor.* Both authors had accidently utilized the same source-plot at the same time. The author of *Heliodor* adhered more closely to the original form of the drama; his work might be compared to a simple, clear outline, to be filled with life and color by means of music, the ballet, elaborate settings, and so forth. The management produced a colorful ensemble which was pleasing to the spectators, but which had a very short-lived success.

A play which appeared at the Königstädter Theater in Vienna on April 20, 1827, bearing the title of *Der Zauberer*

[87] Franz Gläser (1797-1861) made his début in Vienna and later attained a prominent place in the musical circles of Berlin.

[88] *Heliodor, Beherrscher der Elemente, oder: das Bild des Glücks. Romantisch-komische Feenoper in zwey Akten, nach dem Italienischen des Gozzi bearbeitet. Allgemeine Theaterzeitung,* Wien, Nr. 16, February 7, 1826.

und das Ungetüm, seems by its title to be reminiscent of Gozzi, yet it has been impossible to discover any further data concerning it.

In the same year an interesting almanach appeared in Hamburg, bearing the name of *Turandot.*[89] It consisted of a collection of simple riddles, songs, tales, and stories, all of them based on the riddle motif. So popular did the little book prove, that a very much increased circulation was attained by the second volume.[90]

A generally revived interest in Italian literature, caused a German publisher of Leipzig, Ernst Fleischer, to produce the *Teatro classico italiano antico e moderno.*[91] Twenty-four medallions of the authors represented in the collection were engraved by C. A. Schwerdgeburth. Only the greatest Italians, from Boccaccio to Manzoni, were chosen. Of Carlo Gozzi, the three fiabe which had proved to be most popular among the Germans were printed: *La Zobeide, I pitocchi fortunati,* and *Turandot.* This beautiful edition is indeed a credit to its German publisher.

Still the influence of *Turandot* continued, not very pronounced to be sure, but enough to keep the memory of Gozzi alive. Thus in Pressburg, on March 15, 1830, a play was given called *Magische Eilwagen-Reise durch die Comödienwelt,*[92] a tragi-comic spectacle, in the Chinese manner, containing a whole galaxy of Chinese, knights, esquires, and so forth, and having as a special attraction a tableau of three Chinese riddles, à la *Turandot.*

[89] *Turandot, Almanach des Räthselhaften,* von Georg Lotz und Carl Töpfer, Hamburg, bei den Herausgebern und in Commission bei Herold.

[90] *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode,* 1828, Nr. 108.

[91] *Teatro classico italiano antico e moderno, ovvero: Il parnasso teatrale con illustrazione biografiche, istoriche, e critiche.* Edizione Guista. I testi i piu accreditati. Ornata di venti quattro Ritratti. Lipsia, Presso Ernesto Fleischer, Piazza Nuova, No. 626. 1829.

[92] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* April, 1830, Nr. 11.

Wolfgang Wurzbach[93] quotes a work by Ferdinand V. Ernst, *Der Gärtner und die Schlange oder das Zauberkäppchen,* produced in the Theater an der Wien, 1831, as based on a motif by Gozzi. He does not define what is meant and I have not been able to find the work.

An excellent translation into German of the second scene of the first act of *La donna serpente* was included in 1834 in Doctor F. W. Genthe's book on Italian literature.[94] It is to be regretted that the anonymous translator did not continue with his very good work.

The influence which E. T. A. Hoffmann, who admired Gozzi greatly, exercised upon young Richard Wagner is well known. So profoundly was the latter impressed by the beauty of the fiabe, to which Hoffmann's works and his uncle, A. Wagner, had drawn his attention,[95] that he used as text for his first opera in romantic style his own adaptation of *La donna serpente* (1833). Wagner was attracted not only by the operatic quality of the Gozzi drama, but by the subject matter itself. In the *Mitteilung an meine Freunde,*[96] he explains the change which he wrought in the plot. In the Italian version the lover-husband, after many trials, wins a fairy as his mortal wife. To his motif the young German gave a more spiritual quality by transferring the lover to the immortal realms of the empire of the fairies, a change which, even twenty years later, still appeared to him of great importance as foreshadowing the "Erlösungsmotif." This youthful work by Wagner and its relation to Gozzi has

[93] Wolfgang Wurzbach, *Der Rabe, Grillparzers Werke,* II, 4, p. 485.

[94] *Handbuch der Geschichte der abendländischen Litteraturen und Sprachen.* hrsg. v. Dr. Fr. W. Genthe, Bd. I, Abth. II. Italiänische Litteratur: Poesie. Magdeburg, 1834.

[95] Cf. Willy Krienitz, *Richard Wagners Feen,* München, 1910, p. 23.

[96] Richard Wagner, *Mitteilung an meine Freunde.* Leipzig, p. 39 f. 1852.

been very thoroughly analyzed in a monograph, *Die Feen,* by Willy Krienitz.[97]

To the present writer, the beginning of *Der fliegende Holländer* has always borne a strong resemblance to the first scene of Gozzi's *Il corvo,* as though, consciously or unconsciously, the memory of the Italian fiaba had found expression in the setting and in the opening of the German opera: the storm, the repeated attempts to land on the home shore, the crew shouting in chorus; the final triumph of the human beings over the elements.

Meanwhile another composer of less fame than Richard Wagner was sufficiently attracted by the immortal *Turandot* to compose a new score for it. This was Carl Gottlieb Reissiger.[98] The text used had no dramatic possibilities whatsoever and possessed no quality to arouse the musician, so that the score has many mediocre, in addition to a few successful, numbers.[99] It seems to have left no impression on the musical circles of Germany.

Vienna was to see the next adaptation of Gozzi, this time a play in the Theater in der Leopoldstadt, which had already witnessed the reproduction of so many fiabe in various forms. Julius von Ribics,[100] the Hungarian playwright, in order to provide a rôle for his wife, the actress Auguste Schreiber, produced *Der Rabe oder die bösen Gaben* adapted from Gozzi's *Corvo.* It was not sufficiently successful to enjoy a long run however.

[97] Cf. footnote 95, p. 100.

[98] The manuscript, according to Reissiger's biographer, Kurt Kreiser, is in the archives of the Hofoper, Dresden; and is dated 1834. A copy of the Mss., signed C. G. Reisinger, was seen by the writer in the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

[99] Kurt Kreiser, *Carl Gottlieb Reissiger,* Dresden, 1918.

[100] Julius von Ribics, born in Hungary, 1806, died in Vienna, 1884. Listed erroneously in Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon,* as adapter of *Goldoni's* play, *Die beiden Raben,* which evidently refers to the play under discussion.

Wolfgang v. Wurzbach[101] draws attention to J. Falck's romantic opera in two acts, *Die Zauberfee,* which, he states, was produced in Weimar in 1826, "a free adaptation from Carlo Gozzi with music by J. S. Remde." As he does not adduce any source for his statement, it has not been possible to verify it.

A third edition of Gozzi in Italian, this time of a single play only, *I pitocchi fortunati,* was to appear simultaneously in Germany and Italy, printed in Berlin by Mt. Schlesinger, in Venice by Giuseppe Orlandetto, under date of 1838. What caused this sudden printing of an isolated fiaba could not be ascertained.

Johann Vesque von Püttlingen, who wrote under the nom de plume of J. Hoven, tried to adapt Schiller's *Turandot*[102] to meet the needs of the Viennese operatic stage of 1838. He simplified the action by substituting for the four masks one comic figure, that of Patetu, the great seneshal; Emperor Altoum of China he changed into Orosman, King of Persia. He made the plot somewhat less elaborate: Barak is overseer of slaves and is urging them to work; when left alone, he grieves for his home. Accidentally he meets Calaf, the exiled Prince of Astrachan. Their mutual surprise may well be imagined. After relating their adventures to each other, the Prince reveals his love for Turandot, of whom he had a glimpse in the garden. Püttlingen-Hoven omits the romantic scene of Calaf's falling in love with the picture. The Prince is determined to gain the heroine by attempting to solve the riddles. Barak, greatly perturbed at this resolution, tries to

[101] W. v. Wurzbach, *"Der Rabe," Grillparzers Werke,* II, 4, p. 485. The only J. Falck to be found was Legationsrath of Weimar (1768-1825), founder of the Falckische Institut. It could scarcely be that an opera by him was produced ten years after his death.

[102] *Turandot, Prinzessin von Schiras. Grosse Oper in Zwei Akten.* Text nach Schiller. Musik von J. Hoven. An interpaged prompter's copy with full staging directions is in the Musiksammlung of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

dissuade him, but he is unsuccessful. Adelma enters, and falls in love with Calaf at first sight. This is another radical change from the Gozzi-Schiller versions. Calaf is summoned before the Divan. The rest of the act follows Schiller closely. The second act also, while omitting many of the subordinate incidents, is based strictly on Schiller; at times the latter's lines are quoted verbatim. The simplification of action has been handled in a masterly fashion, so that at times it seems an improvement upon the original. The new lines, adapted from Schiller, have been translated into Italian, so that the text is in both languages; the music, too, is decidedly of the Italian operatic style, which suits the subject, so that this is altogether a successful treatment.

Karl Blum, the facile Berlin composer and, dramatist adapted at least two of Gozzi's works for the German stage. The first was *Das Zauberräthsel,* an opera, the plot of which was also based on *Turandot.* The music for it was by the fertile Adolf Müller, best known for his compositions of Nestroy's plays.[103] *Das öffentliche Geheimnis,* which had already found so many translators into German,[104] was the second. Blum does not improve upon the work of his predecessors, for instance when he reduces Truffaldino to a very common, rascally servant. This version, a play, deserves the oblivion to which it has been relegated.

During this period Andrea Maffeio translated many of the German classics into Italian. Among his translations from Schiller was *Turandot,* an interesting instance of the return of a translation to its mother tongue.[105]

[103] This is the same Müller who wrote the score to Valentin Ernst's *Gärtner und Schlange,* mentioned above.

[104] Karl Blum (1786-1844), *Theater,* I, Berlin, 1839. Reprinted and bound separately in Berlin, 1841.

[105] A copy is in the Collectio Her, Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Maffeio's work is discussed by Albert Köster in *Schiller als Dramaturg.*

CHAPTER V

THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY

A gap of twenty years ensued during which the influence of Gozzi seems to have become extinct in Germany. In 1863, however, there appeared in Silesia a travesty on *Turandot* entitled *Kieselherz, Prinzessin von Nirgendwo.*[1] The quotation from the dramatis personæ will give sufficient insight into the type of play this parody represents, to make further comment unnecessary:

> The King of Nowhere, who, if he were not the father of a daughter without his own fault, would not have appeared in this play at all.
>
> Princess Pebbleheart, an obstinate, masterless creature, utterly spoiled by a weak father, who is too much impressed by her own mentality, and who is, on the whole, quite commonplace.
>
> Prince Schundi, a prince's son without land, his wits sharpened by hunger and despair, who risks his young life in order to gain a free living.

Only the riddle scene is given. It is silly, without being either funny or clever. The authors' signature, "Dreien," seems to refer to three (drei) people who combined their wits to produce this absurdity.

Riemann's *Opernhandbuch*[2] registers a comic opera, *Die Bettler von Samarkand* by J. Brüll, as having had its première in Vienna in 1864. No further details concerning it could be found.

On November 29, 1866, there was given in Vienna an amusing little operetta entitled *Turandot,* text by Erik Nessl, music by K. F. Konradin. This had no connection with Gozzi, however. Its plot is laid in modern times in a Ger-

[1] *Kieselherz, Prinzessin von Nirgendwo.* Ein tragikomisches Mährchen frech bearbeitet nach Gozzi und Schillers *Turandot* in einem Akte von Dreien. Hoyerswerda, 1863.

[2] Riemann's *Opernhandbuch,* p. 48.

man seaport; its heroine is Kätchen Blum, the widow of a master-baker. The only reference to *Turandot,* and the motivation for this name, is found in the lines[3] "Mistress! You are known everywhere as a second Turandot; she was the widow of a master-baker in the interior of China; take care lest the same fate befall you." The wholesome, merry atmosphere of this play made it a great favorite on the Viennese stage.

The imitation of Gozzi's brilliant fancies had long since disappeared from the German stage when another worthy exponent arose on German soil to rekindle interest in the airy characters of the clever Venetian. Paul Heyse, attracted by the charm of the Italian original, rendered into German *I pitocchi fortunati.*[4] He appreciated fully the difficulty of finding a form worthy of his own genius and also of the Italian original. He wrote therefore an appreciative preface, in which he set forth his solution of the problem. He says that the Italian poet could rely upon the popularity of the masks, upon the charm of their dialects, and upon the improvisation of the brilliant humorists who were members of the Sacchi troupe. As a substitute for all this the German adapter had to work out a more closely knit action and a more independent set of characters. Another difficulty arose from the fact that some of the masks were principals in this particular drama, so that they could not be easily dismissed. He would attempt, therefore, to fulfill the conditions by deepening the psychology of the characters, regardless as to whether they were masks or serious characters. Such was the plan Heyse sought to carry out. Of the two villains, the Vezier Muzaffer and the usurer Tartaglia, he made caricatures. Of the four beggars, Saed, a noble youth who had

[3] Act I, Sc. III, p. 4. This play was not printed until 1871. Vienna.

[4] Paul Heyse, *Die glücklichen Bettler. Morgenländisches Märchen in drei Aufzügen frei nach Carlo Gozzi für die Buhne bearbeitet,* Berlin, 1867.

been deprived of his beloved, the former Vezier Pantalone, the professional mendicant Truffaldino, and the dyer Brighella, he made four ordinary beggars, with somewhat the same characters they had originally, but changed to meet the requirements of the play. In order not to lose, but rather to enhance, the fantastic impression of the whole, he has intimately woven into it the musical element. Köster, who discusses the play in his book on Schiller, does not think that Heyse did justice to the masks; he considers his humor too tame and polished. The fact remains, however, that he thoroughly modernized the fiaba, and made of it a play which will always afford enjoyment to the spectator or reader.

Some years later Wolf, Graf Baudissin,[5] then of very advanced age, became very much interested in the Italian drama and was particularly attracted by Gozzi. Baudissin, who had done such notable work on the Tieck-Schlegel Shakespeare, entertained, he tells us, the idea of translating all the dramatic works of the Venetian, but was dissuaded from this enterprise by Salomon Hirzel, the publisher, to whom he had turned for advice. The latter considered Gozzi as obsolete, and the task of publishing his plays profitless. He counselled Baudissin, however, to translate a number of Italian dramas by various authors, including one or two by Gozzi, and to collect them under the comprehensive title of *Italienisches Theater.* This advice was followed. Uncertain as to what two plays to choose, Baudissin discussed his difficulty with Emanuel Geibel, who advised him to take *Il corvo* and *Il re cervo,* because they seemed to him more particularly Gozziesque than either *Turandot* or *I pitocchi fortunati,* chosen respectively by Schiller and Heyse. He considered the fantastical element in both of these works of such bold yet lofty conception, of such charming yet vivid execution, that one could pardon the lack of a profound, moral idea in the magic

[5] Wolf, Graf Baudissin, *Italienisches Theater.* Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1877.

powers which control the destinies of the people involved. Geibel thought the principal reason why the complete dramas of Gozzi had not found a worthy translation into German was the innumerable difficulties which arise for their stage production. Count Baudissin followed the advice and chose the two fiabe suggested by Geibel. As he never at any time contemplated having them staged, he made no changes in them, believing that the masks under their own names would be more acceptable and would create a greater impression than if they were turned into ordinary stage figures. He realized that the necessity of surrendering the dialect in the translation caused it to lose a great deal of the charm of the original, but thought the loss would be greater still if the local color peculiar to the masks were deleted. He regretted the fact that, at the time he wrote, Gozzi was so sadly forgotten among his own countrymen that, when Baudissin was in Italy he was unable to procure a copy of the Venetian's works in Genoa, Venice or Florence, even at second-hand bookshops.

Baudissin's work is just what it claims to be: a good, faithful translation, rendering verse for verse, and prose for prose, only unable to cope with the dialect. Yet, somehow, like many other adaptations, it lacks that magnetism which Gozzi managed to infuse into his work and which none after him has been able to reproduce.

Again a period elapsed before another German felt the urge to render Gozzi themes into German. In 1886, Carl Wittkowsky published *Donna Diana,*[6] which had been transformed into a charming opera, ostensibly after Moreto. An examination of the text, however, reveals that the librettist used West-Schreyvogel's play, rather than Moreto directly. To the changes in motivation introduced by the Austrian,

[6] *Donna Diana, Oper in drei Akten.* Text frei nach Moreto von Carl Wittkowsky. Musik von Heinrich Hofmann. Leipzig. Breitkopf und Härtel (*c.* 1886).

Wittkowsky loyally adhered. His poetic form is excellent, superior to any earlier version. The individual song numbers are particularly deserving of praise.

Nor was Wittkowsky's rendition the last to entertain the German public in the nineteenth century. About 1894, Emil Nicolaus Reznicek[7] greatly shortened the original plot of Schreyvogel-West's *Donna Diana* by reducing the parts of the two secondary princes and of Donna Diana's father to very subordinate positions. Perin has also lost a great deal of importance. He has become the real fool, a foil for Floretta, the typical Smeraldina-soubrette. The whole opera is real poetry and makes a thoroughly pleasant impression when read.[8]

Volkmar Müller translated several of Gozzi's plays into German and was able to infuse a fine poetic spirit into his versions. In 1887 he wrote *Das grüne Vögelchen,* two years later he published, under the title of *Dramatische Dichtungen,* a series of three adaptations: *Der König der Geister, Liebe macht klug,* and *Das blaue Ungeheuer;* and separately, *Die Frau als Schlange.* They show a rare understanding of the Italian, yet at the same time infuse a very pleasing modern spirit.[9]

While Müller was publishing his plays in Dresden, Theobald Rehbaum, attracted again by the invincible magnetism of the ever-young *Turandot,* composed both text and music for his opera. He has, however, been very free in his adaptation and transformed it into something dangerously re-

[7] *Donna Diana,* Komische Oper von E. N. Reznicek. Frei nach der C. A. Westschen Übersetzung des gleichnamigen Lustspiels von Moreto. Leipzig (*c.* 1894). This went through at least three editions.

[8] Unfortunately I have not been able to hear it on the operatic stage.

[9] One of the two copies of *Das grüne Vögelchen* now in possession of the Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna, belonged originally to Paul Heyse, which is but another proof of the interest of the latter in our poet.

sembling a modern musical comedy. His use of the plot, while trivial, is of interest. A chorus of servants headed by Bima, the major-domo of the palace of Narada, Prince of Kashmir, grieve on account of the loss of Jocko, the favorite parrot of his daughter, Princess Turandot. They are joined in their lament by Barak and Skirina, the head gardener and his wife. Kalaf enters, carefree, happy, poor, having lost all his possessions, but retaining his good humor and his love of life. The recognition scene ensues. Kalaf has been fortunate enough to catch the missing Jocko and to return the bird to Turandot, at the same time refusing all reward for his deed. As in the original version, Kalaf falls in love at first sight, but, unlike the Italian, Turandot returns his affections almost immediately and grants him the rose she is wearing. Meanwhile the audience is being informed by the chorus that a tiger, which has been ravaging the country, has been slain by an unknown stranger, who has disappeared. It transpires that Kalaf, of course, is the hero of this brave deed. He states that he is of royal descent and wishes to submit to the test of the three riddles, a resolve which astounds the entire court. He tries and is successful. Turandot, delighted, acquiesces in the marriage, but Kalaf, wishing to test her wit and teach her a lesson for her cruelty to his many predecessors, refuses to accept her until she has found out his name. Turandot tries in vain. She succeeds only in discovering the title by which he was formerly known to Barak, but she has found something "greater than wit and more dazzling than intellect—a loving heart." Kalaf, happy that her better nature has come to the fore, reveals his real title and all are happy.

Though all seriousness has been removed from this version, and no tragic motif is retained, the impression of the whole is very pleasing, and incidentally shows what use can still be made of Gozzi's fiabe.

Turandot versions continued to appear from time to time,

to testify to the inexhaustible charm of the theme. Thus Adolf Jensen, the composer, wrote the music for a Turandot opera, for which after his death his daughter, Elsbeth Jensen, wrote the libretto, basing it on Schiller's text. In 1888, it was published by W. Kienzl.[10] As far as possible, all minor characters have been omitted, including Skirina, Pantalone, and Truffaldino, so that practically all humor has been left out. The action advances almost too rapidly for the spectator, yet it is by no means the worst of the many adaptations of Turandot.[11]

In 1905, Carlo Gozzi's personal life attracted the interest of W. Kastner,[12] who drew inspiration from the *Memorie inutili* to reproduce the stories of the three love affairs of the Venetian. He also added Gozzi's description of himself, the "Proëmio" of the *Memoirs* and, in his introduction, adds a short sketch of the Venetian's life and works, omitting however in his list of fiabe *La donna serpente* and *Il mostro turchino*. The translation reads smoothly enough, though its literary form is not of the best.

Turandot, who had dragged her weary existence through so many decades, attracting many and baffling all, beautiful, alluring, enchanting, yet never endowed with that wealth of scenic splendor which is her birthright, was at last to come into her own, when Karl Vollmoeller, reverting to Gozzi directly, produced another adaptation. This surpasses even Schiller in many ways. Vollmoeller successfully cast off all restraint and made it as merry a play in German as Gozzi had done in Italian. He introduced his foster child by devoting to it and to Gozzi an entire number of the *Blätter des deutschen Theaters,* explaining therein in detail the rise and fall

[10] *Turandot.* Operndichtung von Adolf Jensen. Hrsg. von W. Kienzl (1888).

[11] The interest taken in the Italian version of *Turandot* caused Georg Büchner to publish a school text, annotated, München, 1911.

[12] *Venezianische Liebesabenteuer. Erlebt und erzählt von Carlo Gozzi.* Deutsch von W. Kastner, Leipzig, Zeiller, 1905.

of the Commedia dell'Arte and Gozzi's share in its resuscitation, and giving a complete exposition of the characteristics of Turandot. Ferruccio Busoni, the noted Italian composer, contributed an article to this Gozzi number of the theatrical magazine. He had written an Oriental suite based on the comedy, which Johann Wijsman later harmonized with the Vollmoeller play for a joint production. Another contributor to the production was Ernst Stern, the artistic designer of scenery and costume. For Turandot was to enjoy a renaissance on the stage which was to surpass anything that even Gozzi might have fondly dreamed for her; she was to be reborn in the twentieth century as a rococo figure of daintiness incarnate; Max Reinhardt was to wave his magic wand over her, and a new Turandot was to arise in undreamed-of splendor. The play was produced on October 27, 1911, in the *Deutsches Theater,* Berlin. Siegfried Jacobsohn, the eminent dramatic critic,[13] describes the effect of this stupendous spectacle.

He [Reinhardt] built up a fabled land with the help of Ernst Stern, who cannot be sufficiently praised; who was never more brilliant, never more fantastical, never more colorful, never more magnificent, than in this, and yet who is always graceful, always light. The eye cannot feast enough. A merry throng of the most variegated vivacity. Lacquer, porcelain, and bamboos, Chinese lanterns, curtains, lattice work. Dainty little thrones, minarets, tiny flags. A nodding, tripping, swaying, balancing. Enameled faces, doll-like feet, fans and coiffures. Contrasted with Chinese master-beings are Japanese slaves with more yellow faces and queueless heads. The horrors are subdued in scurrilous fashion, manslaughtering clubs are childish playthings. They behead from sheer fun. We are not frightened by Samarkand's papier-mâché head, raised in most unbloody fashion upon Pekin's bridge. All this is nothing but intoxication of color. Orgies in multiple greens, in lilacs, rose, gold, in cobalt blue, orange yellow, and iris white. Fabulous beings, dragons, cranes, and mystic fowl

[13] Siegfried Jacobsohn, *Das Jahr der Bühne,* Berlin, 1912, p. 65.

of every variety, lilies, gloxinia, and exotic blooms of foreign realms twine ambitiously and artistically, morosely or merrily, through black, dull-red or violet hangings, one of which rises after the other, while courtiers, princes with paper lanterns, swords, parasols, in litters and baldaquins are drawn or spirited past.[14]

Exotic, phantasmagoric effects, with ever-changing background, which finally become almost too much for the human spectator to absorb, and leave him sated, dizzy, gasping—a recrudescence of sheer loveliness and beauty, at last a setting worthy of the sardonic nobleman whose bones have been moldering by the blue lagoons for over a hundred years.[15]

Karl Vollmoeller's version was translated into English by Jethro Bithell,[16] whose work does not do justice to the en-

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

[15] Karl Vollmoeller, Prefatory note to *Turandot.*

[16] *Turandot, Princess of China,* by Karl Vollmoeller. Authorized English version by Jethro Bithell, London, New York, 1913.

The following foreign versions have appeared in addition to the German versions. Denmark took an active interest in the Italian author. Already in 1815, M. F. Liebenberg, the father of the famous literary historian, Frederik Ludvig Liebenberg, translated Schiller's *Turandot* into Danish verse.

This was followed by S. Meisling's translation, the *Italienske Maskencomœdia af Carlo Gozzi.* Kjøbenhavn, 1825. Unfortunately this work has not been accessible.

This work was supplemented by Hans Christian Andersen's opera, *Rœvnen, Eventyr-Opera i fire Acter,* the music to which was written by the great J. P. E. Hartmann. It has a supernatural atmosphere of gnomes, elves, and elementary spirits, which are strongly reminiscent of Kuhlau's famous opera *Elverhoe* (Copenhagen, 1828). Andersen has put into this work the peculiar charm which permeates his writings. It was produced for the first time in Copenhagen on October 29, 1832. Later it was changed somewhat and staged again on April 23, 1865.

Turandot was put into the form of an opera by Andersen's fellow countryman, Severin, Baron Løvenskjold (Copenhagen, 1854), but won only slight success.

A single Hungarian edition of *Turandot,* by Gathky Janos, ap-

trancing charm of the German version. As a spectacle, it was a decided success in London, however. Let us hope that the German translator and the stage-director who so bril-

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peared in Buda, 1835. It was not sufficiently well done to stimulate further attention to Gozzi.

In England there was some slight Gozzi interest here and there during the last century. When Thomas Roscoe translated the works of Italian novelists, he included some of Gozzi's work in his *The Italian Novelists* (Vol. IV, 1825). *Calaf, a Rejected Drama,* appeared in London in 1826. West's *Donna Diana* found a translator in George Hyde, who rendered it as *Pride's Victory, or The School of Pride,* London, 1825. Ten years later *Turandot* was once more translated, this time directly from the German of Schiller, by Archer Gurney, and was published as *Turandot, Princess of China. From the German by Schiller; with considerable alterations and the introduction of new characters; with a view of its adaptation to the English stage.* Frankfort on the Main. 1836. Gurney made some changes, mainly the following: he introduced in Act I, rather unnecessarily, five maidens mourning for the Prince of Samarcand; Skirina has become a lady of dignity and Zelima is no longer her daughter, but her sister. The chief change, however, is the attempted justification of Turandot's conduct. She acts under the compulsion of a previous ill-considered oath, from the effects of which she is saved in the nick of time by Dinar, her tutor, a newly added figure, who inserted a clause which rendered the oath null and void, and was unable to apprise Turandot of this because he was enslaved by pirates for four years. Albert Köster, in *Schiller als Dramaturg* (p. 208), in his criticism of this play, called the attempt at an improvement "childish," which expresses it exactly, though the Englishman does hit upon two of the weak points of the original.

It remains to draw attention to Paul de Musset's *Mémoires de Carlo Gozzi,* Paris, 1884. The French poet's very free translation, which may almost be deemed an adaptation, somewhat strained the characters of the *Memoirs* in his romantic attitude toward the Venetian.

Prokofieff, in 1913, utilized *L'amore delle tre melarance* very successfully as the subject for an opera. It has been staged repeatedly in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

It may have been Busoni's Oriental Suite based on *Turandot* which induced the great Giacomo Puccini to take this fascinating Chinese Princess as the subject for his last opera. It was first per-

liantly produced *Turandot,* may in the near future bring the same good fortune to some others of the fiabe.

When the field of Gozzi influence on German literature

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formed under Toscanini at La Scala in Milan, Italy, on April 25, 1926. (Cf. *The New York Times,* November 17, 1926.) The libretto is by Giuseppe Adami and Renato Simoni, who reduced the story to the fewest possible incidents consistent with the development of the opera. Princess Turandot, the Emperor Altoum, Timur, and Calaf are the characters adopted from Schiller, after Gozzi; the masks are changed into three Chinese Ministers, Ping, Pang, and Pong, and a new character, Liú, a slave girl, is added. In a first act the populace protests against the death of the Persian Prince, while the executioners grimly grind their swords, preparatory to this dreadful deed. Calaf and his father, Timur, accompanied by Liú, the faithful slave, find each other in the crowd. Turandot appears for a moment defiantly, facing the mob. At first sight of her, Calaf falls in love and, rushing forward, strikes the gong which announces him as the next suitor. In the first scene of the second act, the three Ministers cry out upon Turandot and hope for an early wedding of Turandot and peace for their harassed country. The riddle scene, in which the Unknown Prince is successful, comes next. The plot follows Gozzi closely to the end of the act: Turandot's consternation, and her refusal to marry Calaf cause him to propound a new riddle. Turandot must find out his name and lineage, in which case his head will be forfeited, or she must marry him. In the third act Turandot is seen threatening all surrounding her with death if the Prince's name be not revealed. When Timur and Liú appear, Turandot herself menaces them with torture if they do not tell the secret. Rather than betray her beloved Prince, Liú stabs herself. Such devotion and sacrifice soften the stony heart of Turandot, who yields to Calaf voluntarily. The last scene is one of rejoicing before the throne of Emperor Altoum.

Puccini was able to write all but the finale of the score before death claimed him in November, 1924. The ending has been somewhat inadequately supplied by Franco Alfano, who orchestrated the final passage which the composer had left in fragmentary form. Puccini had studied Chinese music and rhythm for his score, the result of which is brilliantly effective.

This opera was staged for the first time in North America at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, on November 16, 1926. It created an almost unprecedented furore, before an enthusiastic

in the nineteenth century is briefly surveyed, the following points claim attention: Friedrich Schiller's adaptation of *Turandot* was followed at first by a lull in further production, due, in all probability, to the respect engendered among contemporaries by the work of a very great artist. This interval was only temporary, however, and was followed by a very fertile period during which some of the fiabe made their appeal as opera librettos with varying success, while others were treated as the regular fairy-dramas. In practically every case, however, the masks, while their innate charm was felt and appreciated, were considered an obstacle to German actors. Attempts were made, therefore, to eliminate them by substituting familiar figures. This method proved only partly successful. At the same time a host of musical adaptations, particularly of *Turandot,* flooded the operatic stage, a current which has survived into the twentieth century.

Not only Friedrich Schiller, but others of the greatest literary geniuses of the century felt the fascination of the fiabe and succumbed to the temptation to adopt them. Among these are Franz Grillparzer, who, however, did not finish

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audience which crowded the house to capacity, due in part, doubtless, to the peerless acting and singing of the Viennese star, Maria Jeritza, who took the leading part, ably assisted by Max Altglass as Altoum and Giacomo Lauri-Volpi as Calaf. With all the scenic splendor and magnificent costuming for which the Metropolitan Opera House is justly renowned, a wonderful production was achieved, differing radically from the Vollmoeller-Reinhardt production, yet quite as stupendous in its way, and giving promise of a splendid renaissance for Gozzi's fiabe, not only in Europe, but in America as well!

The caption of the program read as follows: "*Turandot,* lyric drama in three acts and five scenes. Book in Italian by Giuseppe Adami and Renato Simoni from the German poetic drama of Schiller, based on Gozzi's older Italian version of the Chinese legend. Music by the late Giacomo Puccini, with his sketches for a last duet and finale completed by Franco Alfano. First performance in the United States, at the Metropolitan Opera House."

his translation of *Il corvo;* Schreyvogel-West, who staged a most successful adaptation of *La principessa filosofa* as *Donna Diana;* Ferdinand Raimund, the plots of several of whose plays bear a strong resemblance to the Venetian fiabe; young Richard Wagner, who chose the plot of *La donna serpente* as the basis for the text and music of *Die Feen,* the first of his operas to reveal the motif of redemption, which became so vital a factor of his later operas. There follow, then, Paul Heyse, whose classical, plastic poetry immortalized *I pitocchi fortunati;* and Karl Vollmoeller, one of our own contemporaries, who, once more attracted by *Turandot,* aided and abetted by the inimitable Max Reinhardt and Ernst Stern, produced an extravaganza, the spectacular performance of which was of such striking beauty, brilliance, and magnificence that it must have surpassed even Gozzi's fondest dreams.

In addition to these, the Italian playwright made a special appeal to certain of the German Romanticists, particularly to Ludwig Tieck, Clemens Brentano, and E. T. A. Hoffmann, whose interest in the fiabe will be considered in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER VI

GOZZI AND LUDWIG TIECK

Many authorities have recognized the fact that Gozzi's use of the fairy drama for satire inspired Ludwig Tieck to write satirical plays.[1] The influence of the Venetian dramatist, or at least the cultivation of ideas and methods similar to his, can be shown for a much wider range of Tieck's work than is usually acknowledged. Particularly for the period of the *Volksmärchen für die Deutschen,* 1796-1798, was Gozzi of importance for the young author who was just breaking the shackles of the Aufklärung. Not only the general plan of the dramatized Märchen, but fantastic images and curious character types, as well as fully developed incidents, recall throughout the inventions of Gozzi.

When Tieck first made the acquaintance of the Italian master is uncertain, but it must have been early in his university years at the latest, since an essay, "Shakespeares Behandlung des Wunderbaren," written in Göttingen in 1793 and offered in vain to Schiller's *Thalia,* shows already considerable knowledge of Gozzi's work.[2] An industrious *Motivenjäger* might indeed find a suggestion of a familiarity with the fiabe in a story belonging in its genesis to the gymnasium years. In *Abdallah*[3] (1792), a gruesome tale written while the young author was still under the influence of the "Schauerromane," Nadir and Omar, genii of good and evil, with power to read the future and to change form at will, suggest Gozzi's genii and monsters. The evil lessons which

[1] Cf. Köster, *op. cit.,* pp. 222-25. Here, as elsewhere, Köster's discussion is brief, but remarkably informing and suggestive.

[2] Published in 1796; cf. Goedecke, *Grundriss,* VI, 34. Reprinted in Tieck's *Werke,* hrsg. v. Eduard Berend (Berlin: Bong), VI, 66 ff.; cf. also VI, 17, and this chapter, p. 134.

[3] Published in 1795; Tieck's *Schriften,* VIII, 1 ff.; cf. Haym, *Romantische Schule,* 2. Aufl., p. 35 ff.

Omar teaches his young pupil savor strongly of the ideas which led astray the twins in *L'augellino belverde.*

Such similarities are too frail a thread on which to hang an assumption that the young student had already found in the Venetian dramatist a fully congenial spirit. The evidence strengthens, however, three years later with the appearance of *Peter Lebrecht* (1795). This worthy's account of his "restless days" in the "Beitrag zu den Kalenderprophezeiungen"[4] recalls memories of the "contrattempi" so charmingly described by Gozzi in his *Memorie inutili.*[5] After describing the peculiar days of ill luck, which he calls "unruhige Tage," with their series of misfortunes, Peter relates the various pieces of bad luck which once befell him on a journey on such a day. He is overtaken by a rainstorm, becomes involved in a tavern quarrel, is denounced as a maker of counterfeit money, seized as a horsethief and finally thrown by his horse in front of his own door.[6] We recall that Gozzi, too, found himself the victim of unlucky stars which plague him with annoyance and expose him to ridicule and danger. "Very often I was taken by innumerable people for someone else with an obstinate insistency, and the strangest thing about it was that I did not in the least resemble the people for whom I was mistaken." Overtaken by the rain in the street, he would wait for hours under a portico for it to cease. When he had finally made up his mind to leave the shelter and arrived home drenched to the skin, the sun would burst gloriously forth immediately after he had entered the house.[7] Another "contrattempo" described in the *Memorie inutili*[8] has an atmosphere not unlike that of the "unruhiger Tag" of Peter Lebrecht. After

[4] *Peter Lebrecht,* II, Chap. V; *Schriften,* XV, 30: cf. also Chap. XIX of the same work.

[5] Pt. I, Chap. XLVII.

[6] Tieck, *Schriften,* XV, 32 ff.

[7] *Memorie inutili,* Chap. XLVII.

[8] *Ibid.*

a protracted absence, Carlo returns home one day, happy at the thought of resting after his wearisome journey, but finds his home in uproar and is refused admission and is informed politely that in a letter he had turned over the house to a neighbor for a few days as his contribution toward an entertainment the latter was giving. Gozzi, who has no recollection of the matter whatever, is forced by the turmoil to flee for refuge to a hotel.

It is, however, in the *Volksmärchen* of 1796 and the following years, that Tieck's acquaintance with the Venetian dramatist makes itself plainly apparent. Thirty years later (1828), when he reviewed these stories for incorporation in his collected works, he dwells on the first of them, *Blaubart,* as a combination of the "humoristische und bizarre" in dramatic form, and says, "Without wishing to imitate Gozzi, pure pleasure in his fiabe caused me to adapt in a different manner and in German fashion a fantastic fairy tale for the German stage."[9] A detailed examination of this group of dramatized fairy tales shows the accuracy of Tieck's dignified statement of his relationship to the work of the Venetian author.

For the particular Märchen here referred to, *Blaubart,* the author but repeats a disclaimer of "imitating" Gozzi made many years before, but states that the idea of dramatizing an old fairy tale was suggested by the Italian. In the introduction, which forms a part of the dialogue framework which binds together the stories in *Phantasus* (1812), we read:

> Clara began: "Gozzi has worked over some subjects, fairy stories, which are charming and very effective. Why has this poet never been imitated? Or has he been?" "At the time," said Lothar, "when I read Gozzi most eagerly, I also made the attempt to dramatize a children's story, which if I am not mistaken is, however, not to be called an imitation of his manner."[10]

[9] Tieck, *Schriften,* I, VII ff.

[10] *Phantasus, 2.* Teil, *Schriften,* V, 6.

Then follows the *Blaubart.*

In clothing this old story in a garment of satire, Tieck undoubtedly had the practice of the Venetian master before him. The satirical fabric is, however, too thin, and its spirit too faint to veil the gruesome realism of the folk-tale, which in its simplicity and directness develops an intensity of interest quite lacking to Tieck's other dramatic attempts. The alternation of deeply tragic scenes with the amusing conversations of Claus the Fool and his foil, the Councillor, in particular the Jacques-like philosophy of the former, are reminiscent of the Shakespeare studies which young Tieck was pushing so vigorously at that time. The *Blaubart* has, to be sure, something of the fairylike unreality of landscape and incident that belong to Gozzi's airy fiabe, and some of the young German's devices to enhance the tragic effects recall those which stood so readily at the command of his Italian predecessor. The peculiar, uncanny color of Peter Bauer's beard, the deserted, weird approach through barren lands to his castle, the witch-like hag who acted as his housekeeper, the blending of spectacular and emotional elements, all recall the Märchen effects of the author of *Il re cervo* and *Turandot* at his best. But the pathos and the melodramatic realism with which the German author paints the lurid background to Agnes' life at Bluebeard's home, or leads us to the climax when she relates to her sister her dreadful experience in the chamber of horrors, owe their color to the somber fancies of the authors of those *Schauerromane* on which Tieck had fed in youth.[11]

On the drama *Blaubart,* which Tieck many years after-

[11] Haym, *op. cit.,* p. 92 ff., points out the independent attitude of Tieck toward Gozzi, as compared with Schiller's. "Er [Tieck] bearbeitete nicht Gozzi, er folgte nur seinem Vorgang." Köster (*op. cit.,* p. 223) finds that the alternation of serious and cheerful scenes in *Blaubart* and the *Gestiefelte Kater* point to Gozzi. Shakespear's influence seems here, however, unmistakable.

wards called "die erste Frucht jener trunken poetischen Stimmung,"[12] followed a year later a prose tale entitled "Die sieben Weiber des Blaubart." In the review of this literary development, written in 1828 as an introduction to one of the volumes of his collected works, he has described this story as a sort of declaration of independence of the "moral tendency" in the literature of the later Aufklärung, as "ein Tummelplatz für Schalkheit, Spass, seltsame Begebenheiten, ja Kritik in dieser bizarren Form und Selbstparodie des Dargestellten."[13] The story, which traces the life history of Peter Berner and mocks at the sentimental literature of his day, soaked with crocodile tears, contains some episodes which are apparently borrowed from Gozzi. The most important is the introduction of a head, made of lead, which was given to the hero by his fairy godmother, and gave excellent advice when properly questioned. This head Bluebeard always consulted when about to contract a marriage. Invariably it warned him against women, but just as invariably Peter disregarded its counsel and followed the dictates of his own pleasure. The device of a head bestowed by a supernatural protector, was utilized by Gozzi in *Il re cervo,* where a magician gives a similar head to the king to guide him in the choice of a wife. Tieck, to be sure, gives a further satirical point by the epitaph on Peter's prophesying head: "Stay, wanderer! Beneath lies a great soul which gave itself up entirely to wisdom and developed only the head as the noblest part of the body."[14]

It is particularly in four satirical dramas which reflect the literary turmoil in Berlin in the 1790's,[15] that Gozzi ap-

[12] Tieck, *Schriften,* VI, xxiii ff.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. xxv.

[14] Tieck, *Schriften,* IX, 240.

[15] Cf. *Schriften,* VI, xxxiv: "Manches in meinen Schriften, was zuweilen der Leser wohl übertrieben oder zu gewagt finden könnte, vieles namentlich im *Kater,* der *Verkehrten Welt* und im *Zerbino,* ist nur wörtlich wiederholt, was ich zufällig in diesem oder jenem

pears as Tieck's model and stimulus: namely, in the *Gestiefelte Kater, Prinz Zerbino, Das Ungeheuer und der verzauberte Wald,* und *Die verkehrte Welt,* all belonging to the years 1796-98. Here the "pure pleasure" in the fiabe, to which the author refers in 1828,[16] leads to a specific adoption of Gozzi's spirit and plan of attack on his enemies and many adaptations from the Italian's inventions in character and motive.

The *Gestiefelte Kater,*[17] based on the well-known fable of "Puss in Boots," is the first of these adoptions of the Gozzi attack. Here, instead of imitating the fiabe, Tieck absorbed the method of literary satire used by the Italian, and produced a play which is written in the spirit of Gozzi, but which, in its satire and method, is just as German as the fiabe are Italian. Both authors use a childish fairy tale as the vehicle of their satire. Both attack a contemporary literary evil by the use of the fable. Just as Gozzi had attacked Goldoni and Chiari by ridiculing their dramatic methods, so Tieck amuses himself at the expense of Iffland and Iffland's manner. The German poet, however, goes even farther than his predecessor, by including in his satire the audiences which were in the habit of applauding the author of the sentimental family drama. Gozzi, at least, had never attacked his well-beloved Venetian audiences. Both authors made amusing use of the language and style of their opponents, pompous and sentimental respectively, in the treatment of trivial incidents. Thus in the *Amore delle tre*

Zirkel vernahm, oder was auch wohl im Streit als scharfe Waffen gelten wollte (1828)."

[16] *Schriften,* I, vii.

[17] The first edition bears the humorous addition: "Aus dem Italienischen" (Goedeke, *Grundriss,* VI, 2, p. 37), which points definitely to Gozzi. No attempt is made here, of course, to evaluate other influences, notably those of Shakespeare, Cervantes, Aristophanes, Holberg, etc., evidences of which are in some cases obvious and have been discussed in detail by Haym, Brodnitz, and others.

melarance, Gozzi thunders forth his nursery rhymes in the grandiose martellian verse of Chiari and Goldoni,[18] while Tieck introduces irrelevant scenes of sickly sentimentality, quite in the manner of Iffland and his ilk. In each case the satirist decks his figures ludicrously with the stylistic finery of his opponents.

It is then in the spirit underlying the play, rather than in its subject matter, that we must trace the influence of the Venetian upon Tieck. Nevertheless, there are scattered throughout motives and scenes, images and fancies that awaken for one who knows his Gozzi many memories of the Italian dramatist.

Both authors approach their audiences with a prologue in an attempt to arouse them to the humor of the situation. Tieck has his "poet" introduce his drama as follows: "My intention was to afford amusement by a whim, and if possible, by a merry tone, yes, if I may say so, by means of a farce, because our latest plays so rarely afford us any opportunity for laughter."[19]

Gozzi hits at his immediate predecessors in somewhat the same fashion:

> Degli argomenti abbiamo per le mani,
> Da far i vecchi diventar bambini,
> I pazienti Genitori umani
> Condurran certo i loro fantolini.
>
> D'inaspettati casi vederete
> In questa sera un' abbondanza grande,
> Maraviglie, che udite aver potete,
> Ma non vedute dalle nostre bande.[20]

The characters of the king and the princess as evolved by Tieck have much in common with King Altoum and Princess Turandot in the Gozzi fiaba of *Turandot.* Both kings

[18] *L'amore delle tre melarance.*
[19] *Der gestiefelte Kater, Werke,* V, 173-74.
[20] *L'amore delle tre melarance,* I, 36-37.

are woefully sentimental in their attitude, both are weak in character, and both are completely ruled by their independent daughters. They have a decided tendency to weep copiously upon the slightest pretext. Neither possesses in the slightest degree the dignity which is generally considered an attribute of royalty. Both are swayed by momentary impulses and influences in most unkingly fashion.

In both the *Gestiefelte Kater* and *Turandot,* the contrast between father and daughter is very marked. Tieck's princess is of the same type and race as Gozzi's Turandot. Self-willed, headstrong, and without ever having felt the softening influence of love, each makes up her mind that she will not marry. Yet the Prinzessin is after all but a very weak and colorless relative of the Chinese Turandot of Gozzi. She is quite willing to marry for love, provided she can find a lover among her many suitors capable of inspiring her with this passion. She has none of the strongly expressed hatred of the other sex that sways iron Turandot. The royal fathers are both most anxious to have their daughters married in order to assure a male successor for their respective thrones. They employ every means to persuade their recalcitrant offspring: appeals to filial affection, argument, anger, finally extreme displeasure. Yet their efforts avail nought until such time as the princess in each case decides of her own sweet will to risk the dangers of matrimony. This final voluntary acquiescence is then in each case all the father needs to render him completely, almost fatuously, happy.

It must of course be remembered that the entire comedy of *Turandot* hinges upon the misanthropy of its heroine, while this is but a minor point in the German play.

Another scene which recalls markedly one of Gozzi's clever inventions, is Tieck's presentation of the "rabbit" incident. The material for it is borrowed from the original fairy tale of "Puss in Boots," but Tieck's use of it suggests an acquaint-

ance of the kitchen scene of the third act of *L'amore delle tre melarance*. In the Italian work the king's anger in the banquet hall at the non-appearance of the roast is indicated. The wrathful sovereign, followed by his entire retinue, finally comes into the kitchen to pass judgment upon the remissness of Truffaldino in letting the longed-for delicacy burn. It is typical of the fairy tale that this King of Spades should deal in person with such trifles, and the entire dénouement of this fiaba hinges on the kitchen scene. Similarly, in the German play it is the rather abnormal, decidedly unregal interest of the king in roast rabbit, evinced in his arraignment of his cook, which provides Puss in Boots with an excuse for presenting *his* rabbit to his majesty, and assures to Hinze the king's unstinted regard and affection. The attitude of both sovereigns toward their menials is precisely the same; the spirit of the scenes is identical, and although the execution differs somewhat, the reader feels keenly the similarity. Both scenes portend tragedy; both are changed to the greatest felicity, however, the one by the reappearance of the rightful princess, the other by the presentation of a rabbit by the ambassador of the hero, whose final happy fortune this gift foreshadows.

A common program inspires both the Italian and the German fairy drama in their championship of the traditional popular elements: the reinstatement and triumphant vindication of the Italian masks in the one case and, even if not in so marked a degree, the championship of Hans Wurst in the other. The German clown, who had been banished as thoroughly from German soil as the masks from Italy, partakes in this play somewhat of the character of the Giudeccan Pantalone. Hans Wurst uses almost the same language as that employed by Pantalone in speaking of himself. Tieck's clown declares:

Man is what he is. Huntsman, we cannot all engage in the same business. I am a poor exiled youth, a man who, long ago,

used to be amusing, who was later considered stupid, insipid, and indecent, and who has now entered service once more in a foreign land where he is again considered amusing for a time.

Hinze. Indeed? Of what land are you a native?

Hans Wurst. Unfortunately only of Germany. My countrymen became so clever at a certain time that they forbade all fun under penalty of a fine; wherever I was noticed, I was given intolerable, disgusting names, such as, common, vulgar, low; indeed, my good, honest name of Hans Wurst was degraded into a reviling term.[21]

Gozzi's Pantalone, as secretary to King Altoum, declares: "Before my misfortunes caused me to leave my native land and my good fortune raised me undeservingly to the honor of secretary of your majesty. . . ."[22]

The examination of the German play proves clearly therefore that Tieck, as he stated in after years, adopted the spirit, but not the subject matter, of the Venetian poet.

A much more striking similarity to the fiabe appears in *Prinz Zerbino.* Its sub-title, "Die Reise nach dem guten Geschmack," is traceable directly to certain lines in Gozzi's prologue to *L'amore delle tre melarance:*

> Un anno par, che loda abbia riscossa
> Ciò, che nell' altro poi non va più bene.
> La ruota del buon gusto è cosa mossa
> Da una cert' aura, che intesa non viene.[23]

In the same prologue, the boy attributes the disfavor into

[21] *Der gestiefelte Kater, Schriften,* V, 217. In a sketch roughly improvised two years earlier, "Hans Wurst als Emigrant" (*Nachgelassene Schriften,* I, 76 ff.), published from Nachlass, Tieck had already treated the reinstatement of the German clown, but the carelessly written sketch, a sort of preliminary study for the *Kater,* intended only for a circle of friends, has apparently a semi-personal orientation in poking fun at certain French émigrés in Berlin. Cf. Köpke's Vorrede, *Nachgelassene Schriften,* I, xii, and Haym, *op. cit.,* p. 97.

[22] *Turandot, Fiabe,* I, 209.

[23] *L'amore delle tre melarance,* I, 35.

which the Sacchi troupe had fallen to the reason that "nel mundo tutto è corruttibile."[24] This is echoed in Tieck's prologue by the line: "Alles ist vergänglich, Freunde," by which the poet prepares his audience for sudden changes in the play.

The similarity of the two plays is chiefly that of plot, which is the framework for their literary satire. Just as in *L'amore delle tre melarance* a young prince, Tartaglia, heir-apparent to the throne, is overcome by a disease, hypochondria, even so Prinz Zerbino is also extremely ill, owing to the literature and philosophy of the time. In each case strange whispers concerning the malady of the prince are abroad. The reader is introduced to the sickrooms of the two sufferers. The efforts of both Truffaldino and his German cousin, Hans Wurst, to relieve their patients prove to be in vain. A crisis is expected. Prince Tartaglia must either recover his health or he will die; Prinz Zerbino must either recover his wits or he will go mad. In both cases humor is to effect the cure. Supernatural agents cause the recovery of our heroes: in Gozzi's work the Fairy Morgana, greatly against her own desire, involuntarily evokes merriment, and thus cures Tartaglia; while with Tieck, the wizard Polykomikus, of his own volition, restores the so-called sanity of his patient by his magic. Both Morgana and Polykomikus are amusing to the audience and are held up to ridicule by their authors. Just as Morgana in her wrath ordered the prince of the Italian fairy tale to go in search of the three pomegranates, so Polykomikus ordained that Zerbino should travel, seeking "good taste." In both cases the courts are overcome with grief at the threatened loss of the heir-apparent. The princes, however, suddenly resolute and with renewed purpose in life, insist on starting off, accompanied only by a single companion: Truffaldino in the one case, Nestor in the other.

So far the plots coincide. The remainder of each of the

[24] *Ibid.*, I, 36.

plays is concerned with the journeys of the princes. During the quest in which the satire on contemporary literature is the chief object, the German drama is much more diffuse than the Italian fiaba, probably due to the fact that Gozzi's work was intended primarily for stage production, while it can scarcely have entered Tieck's mind to stage his *Prinz Zerbino.*

There are also in this play, as in the *Gestiefelte Kater,* minor incidents that recall the fiabe. Thus might be mentioned the idyllic, secluded existence of Dorus and his lovely daughter Lila, which parallels the quiet, retired life of Pantalone and his daughter Sarke as pictured in *Zeim, re de' genj.* The atmosphere surrounding both of these sub-plots is identical in its peace, beauty, innocence, and retirement, furnishing a tranquil picture of plain living and high thinking. This idealism pervades in each case the whole episode, which is brought in each instance to a satisfactory conclusion with the happiness of all characters concerned.

Gozzi was fond of using Pantalone as the kindly, sensible councillor of the kings of his dramas. In at least one instance, he employed the irony which was later so dear to the souls of the German Romanticists. A character suddenly draws attention to the fact that he is a character in a play. In *Turandot,* Pantalone, as he sees his majesty worrying about his daughter, says: "Cossa diavolo ga l'Imperator, che el va borbottando?"[25]—admirably rendered by Schiller:

> Rappelt's der Majestät? Was kömmt sie an
> Dasz sie in Versen mit sich selber spricht?

Tieck has adopted this device admirably. When the old king complains of fate in highly tragic phrases, which contain but puerile sentiments, however, Hans Wurst shifts the blame suddenly from fate to the irresponsible poet-author, whose arbitrary will constrains all his characters to be as

[25] *Turandot, Fiabe,* Act IV, Sc. 4.

senseless as he wants them to be, whereupon the king goes a step farther and draws attention to the fact that he and his fellow-characters are but the figments of the imagination of another. This abrupt destruction of the dramatic illusion became a favorite device of the Romanticists, and its use by Gozzi must have endeared him to his German emulators.

Of the less important characters, Polykomikus, the comic magician, has traits of Zelu, of the *Mostro turchino.* The home of the latter is a dark cave in a wild wood, little known to human beings. Polykomikus also lives in a deserted place within a huge rock. All men who approach the eery spots where the magicians dwell, do so with fear and trembling.

Polykomikus' assistant, attendant, and general factotum, Jeremias, is conceived in a manner altogether Gozziesque. The mocking spirit which he evinces in his treatment of the two courtiers who seek his master, his sardonic humor at their obvious confusion, the impish tricks he plays them, are indeed well worthy of the derisive laughter of Gozzi. His provocative transformations from a human being into a rasping owl, thence into a stuttering monkey, while conceived in a very different fashion, recall the changes of the magician Durandarte in the fiaba, *Il re cervo.* The stammering of the monkey recalls the stuttering of Tartaglia, who also passes through a series of physical changes of form in the Italian play.

Perhaps the greatest tribute and compliment which Tieck pays Gozzi is in the richly poetic scene entitled the "Garden of Poetry," in which the shade of the Italian dramatist is found in company with those of the greatest literary geniuses that the world has produced: Dante, Ariosto, Petrarch, Cervantes, Hans Sachs, and Sophocles. Gozzi, gazing upon the philistine Nestor, exclaims: "He would make quite a good mask,"[26] a remark which is borne out by the fact that

[26] *Prinz Zerbino, Schriften,* X, 276.

in Tieck's play Nestor takes the place of Gozzi's Truffaldino as companion of his wandering prince.

Here again, therefore, Tieck borrowed the central idea behind his work, as well as certain superficial points, from the Venetian. But plot, character and style have taken an entirely different form. The merry devices of Gozzi have given place to a satiric structure more profound and to forms which are more richly lyrical. In such a case we cannot speak of imitation or adaptation, but of an absorption of the Italian's lighter spirit into the blood and bone of the German satirist.

Die verkehrte Welt, another literary satire, the execution of which smacks strongly of the typically Viennese burlesque parody, has one passage which can be traced directly to the Italian poet. In Act IV, Scene 4, a naval engagement is staged between the forces of Admiral Pantalone and those of Admiral Harlekin respectively. The idea was to turn honest Pantalone into an Admiral of the Giudecca, and some effective stormy sea-scenes are staged for the benefit of the audience. While the Italian version is conceived seriously, however, Tieck's sea-fight is a farcical combat in which all illusion is willfully destroyed. It is made as absurd and childish as possible, so that we have none of that feeling of sympathy for the characters which Gozzi's creations develop in us in spite of ourselves.

Skaramuz and Pierrot, two mask-like figures found in the *Verkehrte Welt,* have much in common with the masks of Gozzi. They are stock characters of comedy and therefore speak in prose, while the rest employ a highly tragic style of verse. This follows wholly the manner of our Italian, whose famous masks always use prose, and the other actors regularly verse.

The title of *Das Ungeheuer und der verzauberte Wald,* Tieck borrowed from Gozzi's fiaba: *Il mostro turchino.* The German author confesses that he tried to combine in it a

libretto for a musical comedy with a fairy motif modeled upon Gozzi:

> If you keep this [idea of an opera] in mind on one hand, and Gozzi on the other, you will perhaps find that I sought the golden mean between the two and tried to evolve a practical demonstration of my theory concerning the comic opera. . . . .[27] Since I wished to keep everything general and desired to touch neither upon comedy nor tragedy, the characters of an eccentric, comic king and of his minister, who are treated in a more general sense, had to be dealt with as masks, which are reminiscent of Gozzi, and which became comical of their own accord, just as everything appears grotesque which is represented unchanged in its type. On this account authors have always drawn artisans as ridiculous figures, even as the doctor, the peasant, and the soldier become amusing characters in themselves.[28]

Gozzi's method of interrupting verse by prose, which he used so cleverly, having his masks adhere entirely to prose and the other characters to verse, was also made use of by Tieck in the work under discussion and carried further by him than by Gozzi. (Cf. above, p. 130.) It was Tieck's impression that the romantic opera suffered from a too lengthy, continually recurring *recitativo;* his plan was, therefore, to eliminate it by substituting certain characters who spoke only in prose throughout the entire play, just like the Gozzi masks. For his two never-singing figures, he took the king and his enlightened minister. "In these prosaic natures the lack of music [Unmusik] was to find its justification as opposed to the phantastic, superstitious, amorous characters. . . . In my delineation of some of the figures, Gozzi's masks had hovered before me."[29]

The similarity of plot between the two dramas is obvious. In each case the king's eldest son is transformed into a mon-

[27] Tieck, "Anstatt einer Vorrede," *Schriften,* XI, 148.
[28] *Ibid.,* XI, 150.
[29] *Ibid.,* XI, liv-lv.

ster and is released only at the end of the play from his enchantment. Both kingdoms are ravaged by plagues caused by the wickedness and sorcery of the king's second wife. The queens are strong, dominant, wicked, but physically beautiful women, in whose hands the poor weakly, feeble-minded, tearful old kings are as clay. In Gozzi's fiaba the wife combats unwittingly her husband; in Tieck's libretto, brother is pitted against brother. Constancy of affection is the touchstone of the love-plot of both plays: in the one instance it is the constancy of wife to husband; in the other, of the lover to his beloved. Both endure trials and temptations greater than human nature can ordinarily bear before the common happiness is attained.

There is, in the *Ungeheuer,* almost a literal translation of certain lines from Gozzi. Thus Dardanè, calling forth the monster to battle, exclaims:

> Io son quì tratta
> A darti morte od a lasciar la vita
> Per quelle vie.[50]

These words are echoed by Aldrovan in a similar situation:

> Ich bin es der dich ruft zum Streit,
> Zu sterben oder über dich zu siegen.[51]

Yet, although the general resemblance of the two dramas is evident, careful investigation shows that, while Tieck followed the general plan evolved by Gozzi, he developed it in his own original fashion.

The enthusiasm of the German author for Gozzi finds its expression throughout the dramatized Märchen. That the application of the dramatic form to the old folk tales which Tieck found in Perrault's *Cabinet de fées* goes back to Gozzi's inspiration, is vouched for by Tieck himself on more

[50] *Il mostro turchino, Le fiabe,* Act III, Sc. 6.
[51] Tieck, *Schriften,* XI, 234.

than one occasion.[32] The Venetian supplied, as we have seen, individual motives and suggestions from *L'amore delle tre melarance, Il re cervo, Turandot, Il mostro turchino* and others, to each of the four works discussed above. Particularly is *Prinz Zerbino* indebted to Gozzi for plot and motives. Here, as in the *Kater* and still more in the *Ungeheuer* and *Die verkehrte Welt,* the reader is impressed by the lack of a clear cut literary satire as compared with Gozzi's vigorous onset against Goldoni and Chiari. With Tieck, the great wealth of personages and unwearied facility in versifying, gives to the whole an atmosphere of literary persiflage.[33]

After 1798, Gozzi's importance for Tieck's poetry fades. Possibly in that year, certainly in 1799, Tieck went to Jena, where personal contact with the Schlegels and with Novalis helped him to the development of an independence of his predecessors in the treatment of themes from popular sources, an independence shown in the Märchen in his *Rotkäppchen* and *Däumchen.*[34] His journey to Italy in 1805 brought him to the land of Gozzi,[35] but unfortunately too late to witness any performance of the fiabe, if we may trust

[32] *Ibid.,* I, vii ff.; V, 6.

[33] The influence of Goethe's *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit,* to which both Haym (*op. cit.*) and Brodnitz (*Die vier Märchenkomödien von Ludwig Tieck,* München, 1912). call attention, is really an influence of Gozzi at second hand. Cf. Chapter II, "Goethe and Gozzi." Considerable difference of opinion exists among German scholars as to the esthetic importance of Tieck's Märchenkomödien. Behrend finds in the *Kater,* unconscious "philosophischen Tiefsinn," while R. Benz resents this use of the Märchen as a "Geschmacklosigkeit im Deutschen," though in accordance with Italian usage, where the Märchen has always been a vehicle for satire. Brodnitz calls the *Kater* "eine sinnlose Posse," and finds the *Zerbino* an advance in that here allegory takes the place of the word satire of the *Gestiefelte Kater.* This question, like so many other Tieck problems, awaits thorough study.

[34] K. Brodnitz, *op. cit.,* p. 101.

[35] He did not visit Venice. Cf. N. Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck,* Leipzig, 1855, Teil 1, Chap. VI, *passim.*

a seemingly autobiographical reference in the *Phantasus* conversations of 1812: "Of its [Italy's] famous masks I scarcely saw anything even mediocre; Pantalone was fairly bearable; yet I did not visit Venice. . . . Unfortunately I could not see anywhere a play by Gozzi; these fables were probably buried in the ruin of the Sacchi troupe."[36]

We must now turn from Tieck's use of Gozzi as an inspiration and source, to an investigation of his attitude toward the Venetian in his theoretical and critical works. Throughout these are numerous references to Gozzi, but from the first we find no tendency to enthusiastic laudation, but rather an objective attitude which sees defects and limitations as well as virtues. He recognizes in Gozzi a poet of talent, worthy of being acted on any stage, but incomparably inferior to Shakespeare, for instance. This he had made clear in an essay, "Shakespeare's Behandlung des Wunderbaren," written in his twentieth year, in which he dealt with Shakespeare's treatment of the supernatural.[37] In it he states:

Nearly all the modern poets have felt the necessity for comedy; at least those have who have made up an opera from any strange fairy tale. Always one comic character, if not more, is found in these. The introduction of the supernatural into his plays was one of the means employed by Gozzi whereby he sought to exile his more talented predecessor Goldoni from the Italian stage. The irregularity of his plays afforded some English tourists the opportunity of giving him the name of an Italian Shakespeare. These two poets are utterly dissimilar, however, in the presentation of their characters and passions as well as in the whole arrangement of their plays. Gozzi had no plan except to entertain and provoke mirth; the majority of his dramas are farces, he dramatizes some Oriental fairy-tale, distributes some of the parts to comic figures, and adds the supernatural element,

[36] Tieck, *Schriften*, V, 477.

[37] "Shakespeare's Behandlung des Wunderbaren" (1793), published 1796; cf. above, p. 117, note 2.

in order to make his composition still more bizarre and grotesque. A certain evanescent humor and sparkling wit must be conceded his plays, but probably he owes it to the inclination of his countrymen toward the farcical that his dramatic monstrosities were applauded so jubilantly, and obscured the dramas of Goldoni, which are in every way far superior to his. The manner in which Gozzi employs the supernatural shows clearly how little he deserves to be named with Shakespeare, for with him it is but a toy to dangle before the eyes of his audience, frequently enough surprised by sudden shifts of scenery.[38]

Later, in his discussion of the German drama, he explained similarly the fact that some of his countrymen compared Gozzi with Shakespeare:

> When the Germans first came into contact with Shakespeare, immediately following their acquaintance with the French, they were unreasonably amazed at his manner of treating time and space; this, and certain peculiarities, such as the passion of some scenes, as well as the apparent mixing of tragic and comic elements, were and are to many still the distinguishing marks by which they differentiate the great genius. Some even, through the same cause, have gone so far as to call Gozzi the Italian Shakespeare.[39]

In his comparison of Gozzi with Goldoni, too, it is evident that Tieck appreciated the greatness of the latter,[40] but that he has also a sympathetic understanding of Gozzi's object in trying to improve upon the "wrong, effeminate morality or unmorality of the talkative poet."[41] He did not approve of Gozzi's attempt to oust Goldoni, or his martellian verse, used by the latter so effectively in some excellent comedies.[42]

Tieck was always greatly interested in national theatres,

[38] Tieck, *Kritische Schriften,* I, 60.
[39] *Dramaturgische Blätter,* IV, 182. "Das deutsche Drama."
[40] *Kritische Schriften,* II, 334.
[41] *Dramaturgische Blätter,* III, 221.
[42] *Kritische Schriften,* 159-60.

and he discussed at various times the stages of England, France, Spain, and Italy, trying to draw ideas from these which might prove fruitful for the establishment and development of a German national theatre. He perceived that the only true national feature of the Italian stage consisted in its extemporaneous mask-comedies. He observed and regretted the ephemeral nature of Gozzi's success: "How little national Gozzi was in spite of his talent and monetary approbation, is proven by the fact that his native land has already forgotten him entirely."[43] Perhaps, however, this might not be entirely Gozzi's fault for, as Tieck expressed himself later, in criticism of an Italian play[44] which he had seen performed both in Italy and in Germany, the actors of the traditional masks were at that time extremely poor, and their performance seemed awkward and clumsy when compared with the acting done by some of the good German players.[45] In advocating the rejuvenation and improvement of the subject-matter of German dramas, therefore, Tieck mentioned the use of Gozzi's work among that of others.[46]

Drawing attention to the fact that some of Gozzi's dramas had already been adapted excellently into German by Schröder and Gotter,[47] and that Kotzebue had "ungenerously plundered and grossly and offensively distorted"[48] the drama of many poets, including Goethe, Iffland, Schröder, Holberg, Goldoni, Gozzi, and Shakespeare, as well as other English poets,[49] Tieck advocated enthusiastically the use of the masks

[43] "Das altenglische Theater," *Kritische Schriften,* I, 219.

[44] "Diener zweier Herren," by Goldoni.

[45] *Kritische Schriften,* III, 35.

[46] *Ibid.,* II, 353; IV, 170.

[47] *Juliane von Lindorak; ibid.,* II, 356.

[48] *Dramaturgische Blätter,* IV, 206.

[49] It has not been possible to substantiate this statement with regard to Gozzi's influence upon Kotzebue, with the exception of a travesty upon *Turandot,* severely criticized by Hoffmann. Cf. below, chapter on E. T. A. Hoffmann, p. 136.

for the German stage. "Pantalone . . . this old man is in his very essence the merchant of Venice,"[50] he exclaims; and elsewhere he is very explicit:

> How much better it would be . . . . if for certain burlesques we did not disdain the old masks and, instead of a father, had right before us a Pantalone or instead of a daughter, a Columbine, the vivacious lover would be more veracious as Harlequin, the old uncle more amusing as the captain or the doctor, and the whole would move more freely in the element to which it belongs.[51]

He recognizes the difficulty attendant upon writing the dialogue for such figures, however: "Only, to be sure, if they are to have speaking parts, one could never exempt this grotesque, yet poetic task from the use of real wit, extravagant, mad sallies, and pertinent satire—in one word—the truly poetic; and that might be very difficult for the authors of the present day,"[52] he adds with a touch of malicious humor.

It is evident therefore that while Tieck recognized clearly the shortcomings of Gozzi, he appreciated just as evidently his good qualities. To those who have made a careful study of both authors, there leaps into view strikingly the spiritual kinship between them. Particularly while a young man, Tieck was haunted in his work by reminiscences, touches, fancies of the Italian. He perceived the value of the effective work done by Gozzi's fiabe in satirizing literary evils of his time, and appreciated the use of ridicule in dramatic form to kill off an opponent. He did not hesitate therefore to adapt Gozzi's fancies to his own purpose wherever he found them useful and appropriate, and thus created for German literature a new type of play, the satirical fairy drama, in which he follows in general in the footsteps of Gozzi, while at the same time he used his own fertile imagination for the

[50] *Dramaturgische Blätter,* IV, 8.
[51] *Ibid.,* III, 213. [52] *Idem.*

working out of details. Only a temperament such as Tieck's in his twenties, full of playful, mocking impishness, could have grasped so well the peculiarities of the Italian poet, and could have evolved thence original satires based on the same ideas as those which banished Goldoni from his native Venice.

CHAPTER VII

GOZZI AND CLEMENS BRENTANO

Clemens Brentano, of Italian extraction, was an acknowledged admirer of the fiabe of Carlo Gozzi. One might expect therefore to find traces of the influences of the Venetian in his works. Brentano himself wrote of his youth, of the fairy-land "Vaduz," in which his imagination dwelt when he was a child:

> I surrounded myself with those magical, flexible, unbreakable flower-gardens made of silken wire which, at most, I bent a little out of shape, and sat among them, reading of the *Three Pomegranates,* the *Little Green Bird* and the dancing water by Gozzi, and believed that I myself was a prince turned shepherd who, filled with longing, pastured his lambs in the valleys of this paradise and sighed for deliverance.[1]

Such an introduction is full of promise for the investigator, who, however, is doomed to almost complete disappointment when he examines the works of Brentano. There are remarkably few instances where any direct influence of Gozzi can be traced. It can scarcely be denied, however, that the fiabe stimulated and helped to keep alive Brentano's active interest in the fairy tale, and thus were of indirect influence on the creation of his charming and original "Märchen."[2] It was his enthusiastic yet passive appreciation of Gozzi which led his intimate friend Böhmer to insist that the Italian influence had been paramount in determining the poet's attitude toward this type of literature.[3]

[1] Clemens Brentano, *Sämmtliche Werke,* V, 9 f. (Early ed. in 9 vols.)

[2] Diel, in his biography of Brentano, draws attention to the reading of Gozzi's works by the author and his friends: "The singing was interrupted by readings from the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* or the *Märchen,* if no other works, such as Gozzi or Calderón, were at hand." J. B. Diel, *Clemens Brentano, ein Lebensbild,* revised by Kreiten. II, 292.

[3] A. Sauer, *Franz Grillparzer, Sämmtliche Werke,* IV, 482.

Albert Köster,[4] in reviewing Gozzi and Brentano, has summed up the situation excellently. He could find but a single motif from the fiabe in Brentano's Märchen. In *Liebseelchen,* a melancholy princess is made to laugh by an old crone, who falls into the same ridiculous position as that by which the Fairy Morgana in *L'amore delle tre melarance* caused Prince Tartaglia to laugh loud and long.

Köster also comments upon and criticizes *Die lustigen Musikanten,*[5] a fantastic Märchen-drama, into which Brentano introduces the three masks, Pantalone, Tartaglia, and Truffaldino. Never in the course of the play, however, do these figures become integral parts of the plot. They seem superimposed on the general structure, rather than an essential portion of it as they invariably are in the fiabe of Gozzi. It is impossible to imagine the latter without the masks, whereas the German play can easily be deprived of them without sustaining any serious loss. In his criticism of Brentano's characterizations of Pantalone and Tartaglia, Köster points out clearly and justly[6] the fact that they have not preserved their individuality sufficiently, and that they are not as distinct as their prototypes in their traits. For example, Pantalone lacks his usual gift of talkativeness, Tartaglia his habitual reserve. Both partake rather of the nature of the Italian Truffaldino, while Tartaglia is influenced too much by Shakespeare's clown, as in his philosophical reasoning. In his sole attempt to root these exotic plants in German soil, Brentano was, therefore, not very successful.

It had been the poet's intention to insert the story of *L'amore delle tre melarance* into his *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz.* Brentano indicates this in the sketch which he first made of the details of the Eighteenth Romance: "[Par. 35] Pietro sets fire to his house; there must be deviltry in it

[4] Albert Köster, *Schiller als Dramaturg,* p. 226 f.
[5] C. Brentano, *Gesammelte Werke,* VII, 233 ff.
[6] A. Köster, *op. cit.,* pp. 226-27.

and the tale of the three pomegranates."[7] There are several references to the pomegranates of Pietro's garden in the course of the poem:

Hoch bei goldenen Pomeranzen
Rankt sich aus den grünen Wolken
Deines Namens Sternbild, strahle
Günstig meinem Horizonte.[8]

Paris gab den goldnen Apfel
Liebend hin der Schaumgebornen;
Aber mir ward ausgeschlagen
Die granate schen geboten![9]

Aber ach, meine Granate
Gleicht den Äpfeln von Gomorrhe,
Innen voll von gift' ger Asche,
Aussen lustig und voll Wonne.[10]

And finally, in apotheosis, as it were:

Sieh, die Kerne der Granate
Die verglichen du der Sonne,
Sind als Sterne aufgegangen,
Leuchtend zu des Ew' gen Lobe.[11]

It is the opinion of Victor Michels, set forth in his introduction to the Schüddekopf edition of Brentano's complete works,[12] that the development of the Gozzi motif in the *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz* was prevented by the fact that the influence of Goethe's *Pandora* intervened and superseded the basic idea as originally planned by the poet.

There are a few additional references to Italian comedies or characters in the earlier work of Brentano, which, slight as they are, are worth noting as showing how lasting an impression the reading of Gozzi had made on the German

[7] C. Brentano, *Gesammelte Werke* (ed. Schüddekopf), IV, 414.
[8] *Ibid.*, IV, 6, 77. [9] *Ibid.*, IV, 80. [10] *Ibid.*, IV, 81.
[11] *Idem.* [12] *Ibid.*, IV, xvii.

poet. Thus, for instance, from the latter part of *Godwi* (1802): "At night he [the young Genovese] usually came during the supper hour, sat down and chatted, told Italian comedies and imitated the tricks of Harlequin, Pantalone and Scaramuz."[13] In *Ponce de Leon* (1801), occurs a stage direction reminiscent of the mask Smeraldina, who is repeatedly cited by Gozzi as "mora,"[14] *i.e.*, a negress. Valeria, one of the principal characters, is introduced in Brentano's satirical drama in masked costume, as follows: "Valeria as a negress, masked with bobbed hair, a small bundle upon her back, a tambourine in her hand, arrives shyly and itinerant before the castle and leans against a tree."[15] A similar remote allusion occurs in *Aloys und Imelde,* when Domingo says: "Do not try to wash yourself white, Moor!"[16] perhaps a reminiscence of Gozzi's *Il moro blanco.* In addition the following are noted by Diel in his Brentano biography. He quotes Brentano as saying (citing von Holtei, I, 95 f.): "You do not know how restricted I am, how gladly I would be Cinthio, Truffaldino, and Scaramuz any day rather than Brentano."[17] Elsewhere Diel[18] asserts that he found in Böhmer's literary remains, a sketch for a poem bearing the title: "Der schreckliche Mann," beneath which was written in Brentano's script: "Beginning of a series of bitter romances or Pomegranates (Romanzen oder Pomeranzen) extracted from the sentimental torments of college days." Here again a dim recollection of Gozzi may have hovered vaguely before the poet.

Further evidence of occupation with Gozzi in Brentano's early creative period, is supplied by his correspondence. Under date of April 20, 1803, he writes from Frankfort am

[13] C. Brentano, *Sämmtliche Werke,* V, 339.
[14] *L'amore delle tre melarance, Il mostro turchino,* etc.
[15] Brentano, *Gesammelte Werke* (ed. Christian Brentano), VII, 97.
[16] Brentano, *Aloys und Imelde,* Act II, Sc. 30. Werke, IX, 108.
[17] J. B. Diel-Kreiten, *op. cit.,* I, 164.
[18] *Ibid.,* I, 102.

Main to his friend, Achim von Arnim: "Daily I gain a greater love for the clear prose of Cervantes, the drama of Shakespeare, the songs of Goethe. Much of Tieck's humor seems insipid to me, since I have read again Gozzi, Holberg, and many of the old German poets."[19]

Five years later in Cassel, where his friendship with Reichardt brought him into close touch with the stage, he is immensely interested in Reichardt's attempt to bring Gozzi's *Mostro turchino* upon the operatic stage.[20] He likes the overture "enormously," as he writes Arnim,[21] but criticizes severely the handling of the delicate Italian motives by the heavy German.

> I have heard only the overture; he has written two acts, he is writing it directly out of Gozzi's play [*Il mostro turchino*] and, in point of fact, is doing it very poorly. The silly Smeraldina he has turned into a sentimental, dainty lady's maid, and brutal Truffaldino into a common stage clown. He gives me one act after the other to correct, but I take good care not to change a syllable.[22]

That exhausts the list of references to Carlo Gozzi in the works of Clemens Brentano. That he knew and liked the Italian poet and long retained his interest in him, is an established fact. It is, however, Basile's *Pentamerone,* a collection of Neapolitan fairy tales, until then practically unknown in Germany, which proved the real source of the motives for his fairy tales. Perhaps the very fact that Gozzi was so well known in Germany, restrained Brentano from making greater use of him as a direct source, though it seems likely that Brentano's early and powerful interest in the Märchen form was stimulated by the highly imaginative fiabe of his Italian predecessor.

[19] R. Steig, *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen,* I, 72.

[20] Cf. above, p. 81 f.

[21] R. Steig, *Achim von Arnim und die ihm nahe standen,* I, 72. To Arnim, January or February, 1808.

[22] *Ibid.,* I, 243. To Arnim, Wabern, February 25, 1808.

CHAPTER VIII

GOZZI AND E. T. A. HOFFMANN

It was the *satire* as developed by Carlo Gozzi in his fairy-drama, which particularly appealed to Ludwig Tieck. E. T. A. Hoffmann, on the other hand, felt that the whimsical oddity of the Italian was closely akin to his own peculiar, fantastic genius. As this is, after all, the predominating quality of the fiabe, in which comedy and tragedy, mixed with irony, alternate in quick succession, and in which the bizarre eccentricity of their author is plainly revealed, it is not astonishing that so kindred a spirit as Hoffmann should remain through life an ardent admirer of Gozzi. This he demonstrates throughout his works. Everywhere the Venetian and his dramas are mentioned with genuine admiration, almost with reverence. No criticism appears anywhere; on the contrary, Hoffmann repeatedly regrets the neglect into which Gozzi has fallen among the Germans. Of course he does not always give us his opinions *in propria personâ,* but rather, through his characters, whose frequent and enthusiastic expressions of approval show the sympathetic feeling of their creator for Gozzi and his work.

One of the most appreciative passages is found in *Der Dichter und der Komponist,*[1] one of those clever dialogues in which Hoffmann loves to set forth serious ideas on music and poetry in light and bizarre form. After years of separation, two friends, Ludwig and Ferdinand, meet by chance amid the fury of war. An enthusiastic greeting is followed by reminiscences of the glowing ideals of their youth, which lead them into a discussion concerning the romantic opera and its requirements. Ludwig, the composer, considers this form as "the only true one, for only in the realm of Romanticism is music at home."[2] Though he advocates the use of

[1] E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Sämmtliche Werke,* edited by E. Grisebach, Leipzig, VI, 76-98.

[2] *Ibid.,* VI, 83.

fairies, spirits, and the supernatural in the romantic opera, he discountenances them completely when used irrelevantly, merely to attract the mob by their spectacular aspect. Only the poetic genius can produce a real opera of this type:

> For only he leads the miraculous phenomena of the supernatural realm into life; upon his wing we are borne above the chasm, which was wont to separate us from it, and, having taken root in the foreign land, we believe in the miracles which occur visibly as the inevitable consequences of the influence of supernal natures upon our being, and [which] develop all the strong, extremely impressive situations, which fill us now with dread and horror, now with the greatest delight.[3]

The magic elixir of poetic truth must inspire the poet. The opera ought to disclose a romantic existence before our eyes, the language of which should be of the highest type; *i.e.*, it ought to be couched in music. Therefore the musical element must of necessity originate out of the poetry. To illustrate the work of the "true romantic genius"[4] who has produced such work, Ludwig cites "the magnificent Gozzi"[5] as a shining example of such a poet. "In his fairy-dramas he has fulfilled completely that which I expect of an opera librettist, and it is inconceivable why this rich treasure-trove of excellent operatic subjects has not been utilized more."[6] In his enthusiasm, Ludwig outlines in detail the story of *Il corvo*. Ferdinand, an enraptured listener, exclaims:

> I remember most distinctly the wonderful, fantastic play, and I can still experience the deep impression which it left upon me. You are right, the supernatural appears inevitable here, and it is poetically so true that one believes it willingly. It is Millo's deed, the murder of the raven, which strikes upon the iron gate of the dark realm of spirits, and now it opens resonantly, and the spirits stalk forth into the marvellous, mysterious fate which rules them.

[3] *Idem.* [4] *Ibid.*, VI, 84. [5] *Idem.*
[6] *Ibid.*, VI, 84.

Ludwig. So it is, and now consider the virile, magnificent situations which the poet knew how to evolve out of this conflict with the supernatural world. Jennaro's heroic sacrifice. Armilla's heroic deed—a greatness lies therein, of which our moralizing dramatists, burrowing in the miseries of everyday life, as in refuse, which is thrown out of the state hall into the dustcart, have no idea.[7]

He comments upon the cleverness with which the comic masks are inserted, an observation which Ferdinand commends highly: only in the truly romantic do the comic and tragic intertwine so thoroughly that they fuse into a unit and thus captivate the audience in wondrous fashion. Such wholehearted, unstinted praise could only have sprung from a spirit of genuine admiration on the part of Hoffmann. The reader is impressed with the earnestness with which the German voices interpret Gozzi's motivation.

A scathing criticism of the opera librettos which Kotzebue attempted to write, is the subject of a short essay, "Kotzebue's Opern-Almanach," which Hoffmann wrote in 1814 for the *Allgemeine Musik Zeitung.* One of these pseudo-texts in particular, the *Prinzessin von Cacambo,* aroused Hoffmann's ire, because the heroine reminded him of *Turandot:*

To be sure I noticed very soon that the nausea which I experienced, as after partaking of an insipid, tasteless diet, was to be ascribed less to the composition than to the conflict into which it came with my personal feelings [Subjektivität]. Princess Dudel, who is so superhumanly beautiful that everyone who sees her becomes subject, not to fantastic madness, but common imbecility, forced me to think of my glorious Turandot; and I felt as though a monkey had adorned himself in the garb of my beloved. That true opera ["Princess Turandot"] I composed long ago, as you know, although not a note has been written and the lines have not even been prepared.[8]

[7] *Ibid.,* VI, 87. [8] *Ibid.,* XV, 165-66.

Especially bitter criticism is directed at Kotzebue's conclusion, where the prince is cured of his insanity upon becoming legally the husband of Princess Dudel.

> Again I think of Turandot; involuntarily the comparison of the two plays occurs to me, which shows obviously the glaring contrast between the most exquisite poetry and the dullest prose. Think of Calaf, glowing with the madness engendered by love, of the emotional situations which are the natural result thereof, etc.[9]

Clearly, in Hoffmann's opinion, the works of Gozzi furnished par excellence the true and proper subjects for operas. In comparison with him, all other librettists fade into insignificance.

The same warm, generous enthusiasm toward our author is expressed in the *Seltsame Leiden eines Theater-Direktors*, a discussion between two theatre managers on many of the evils of the dramatic world of their time. Two of Gozzi's fiabe are found particularly worthy of praise: *Turandot* and *L'amore delle tre melarance*. The Italian versions of both of these are lauded, and the efforts, even of Schiller himself, to give a worthy German rendition to this delightful *chinoiserie* are discountenanced. The author then proceeds to develop, through the mouth of his characters, his views of the proper method of bringing Gozzi on the stage. One of the directors, fervently enthusiastic, relates his experience on seeing *Turandot* enacted in Brescia by a good Italian troupe, and draws a brilliant picture of the charming actress who took the rôle of the heroine: "Indescribable was the impression upon the heart, moved deep within in wondrous wise."[10] He then goes into detail concerning the effect produced upon the audience by certain dramatic scenes, and deduces that an actress must possess beauty, charm, youth, and magnetism to fulfill the claims of a successful

[9] *Ibid.*, XV, 167. [10] *Ibid.*, IV, 59.

Turandot. "Only the finished artist can grasp the heroic, or rather the insane rage of the Chinese princess without disturbing the magic of the most delicate womanliness."[11] As the discussion goes on, a certain German Turandot as well as a German Altoum are given great praise for the astuteness with which they adapted themselves to their parts. Certain fine points that enhance the artistic impression are mentioned, such as the continual use of a huge, strange-looking handkerchief with which Altoum wiped away his tears in a manner all his own. Hoffmann's director blames the lack of quality in the rest of the play upon the "poor adaptation. . . . Here again the blunder of a great poet [Schiller] proves my statement, that adapting plays is a precarious matter. When compared with the original, it is incomprehensible how it was possible for the German adapter to obliterate the finest traits, but particularly to distort the vivid, strong masks into such insipid, pale characters."[12] In criticizing the rhetorical manner of declamation prevalent at the time, which seemed very unnatural to him, Hoffmann compares it to the *"tuono academico"* which Gozzi advises that Turandot use in propounding her riddles. Very aptly the director adds: "It is the 'tuono academico' of the stage, and if Turandot is to pronounce her riddles in the 'tuono academico,' many parts spoken in that tone remain forever an insoluble riddle."[13]

Later in the same discussion, one of the directors grows eloquent in his analysis of the original version of *L'amore delle tre melarance.* "It is not a question of any young poet, but of one unduly forgotten."[14] The excellent fairy tale of the Three Pomegranates which the magnificent Gozzi left in outline for us, I am in the act of staging for my actors."[15] He hails it as a peerless example of combining the comic

[11] *Ibid.*, IV, 60. [12] *Ibid.*, IV, 60 f. [13] *Ibid.*, IV, 66.
[14] *Ibid.*, IV, 91. [15] *Ibid.*, IV, 91.

with the pathetic, exemplifying his contention by a minute and exact analysis of the plot, interspersed with extracts of Italian poetry. His listener, to be sure, was unable to see how such a play could be staged, the argument being, that only the Sacchi troupe, resurrected from the grave, could do it justice. The admirer of Gozzi would listen to no such argument, however.

> Do not sin against so great a genius, what greatness, what profound, stirring life reigns throughout Gozzi's fairy-tales! Think but of *Il corvo*—of *Il re cervo!* It is inconceivable why these magnificent dramas, in which there are more forceful situations than in many highly praised, recent tragedies, have not been utilized successfully as opera texts, at least.[16]

Further on Hoffmann adapts a motive from *L'amore delle tre melarance* in describing the methods of a young theatre-physician, who despises all medicine and proceeds by magnetic methods:

> After sawing the air surrounding the sick people a little with magnetic hand, he places upon their breasts, as was wont to be done with the magnetic wand, twelve sonnets, of his own composition, made for that very purpose, which he always carries around to that end. Immediately the eyelids close; if there is still a struggle, however, he sends a tragedy in addition. Already in the first half of the first act the most robust natures collapse, as if succumbing to the sleep of death.[17]

Here the reader is forced to think of the illness of Prince Tartaglia, due to the influence of the martellian verse in powdered form, administered to him as slow poison!

When Hoffmann's resurrected Spanish bulldog, Berganza, and the author have their famous conversation concerning contemporary society, literature and the stage in *Nachrichten von den neuesten Schicksalen des Hundes Berganza,* Gozzi

[16] Exactly the same language as that employed in *Dichter und Komponist.* Cf. above, p. 145.

[17] *Ibid.,* IV, 23.

again appears as the model for the German theatre. Criticizing the type of sentimental, bourgeois drama staged at that time in Germany, and advocating a revolution in the theatre, Berganza exclaims:

> On the other hand, the matter would have gone differently, indeed more forcibly and quickly, if a splendid poet [Tieck], who will still cause you frequently to thrill to the very soul, had at that time overcome his dislike of the miserable boards, and had related to us a fairy tale from the stage, just as Gozzi used the fairy-drama of the *Tre melarance*.[18]

In view of the fact that Hoffmann, as noted above, was so averse to adapting any play of Gozzi for the German stage, it is not surprising that no such adaptations are to be found among his works. This does not preclude the possibility of Gozzi's influence upon his original work; indeed, in several of Hoffmann's tales there is evidence of a spirit which seems induced by Gozzi. One of the best and most outstanding examples is the *Prinzessin Brambilla,* a fairy tale of the Carnival in Rome.

In his preface to this capriccio, Hoffman states very definitely:

> If the author dare recall that sentence of Carlo Gozzi (in his Preface to the *Re de' genj*), according to which a whole storehouse of absurdities and apparitions is insufficient to create a soul for the fairy tale, which it attains only through the profundity of the principal idea gained from some philosophical view of life, it may but suffice to point out what he wanted to accomplish, not what he has succeeded in doing.[19]

This reference points to a depth of thought behind the apparent nonsense, based on a philosophical interpretation which he had gained from Gozzi. Nor is this expectation disappointed. *Prinzessin Brambilla* is indeed a glorification of our Italian poet. Amid the utmost absurdities, embel-

[18] *Ibid.,* I, 131. [19] *Ibid.,* XI, 6.

lished with the most grotesque arabesques, related in the fantastic manner of which he was so fond, Hoffmann shows the evolution of Giglio Fava, an actor of innate ability and temperament, playing in the traditionally wretched, unnatural manner, the impossible tragedies of the Abbate Chiari. His rôles extend from a wretched tragical figure to an excellent mask, Brighella or Truffaldino, of the Commedia dell' Arte of which Gozzi was the champion. A minor action transforms a pretty young dressmaker into a furore-creating Smeraldina, who becomes Giglio Fava's wife. At the same time, the author develops his characters as symbols of the sovereign power of fancy soaring upward on the wings of humor—again precisely the effect sought by Gozzi. The attempt could be made to pursue in detail a comparison of the chief threads of Giglio Fava's development with those corresponding in the life of the Venetian: thus it might be pointed out that the eccentric Prince of Pistoja has a likeness to Gozzi himself, and so forth. Yet Hoffmann himself would be the first to decry such a method of interpretation. Having once conceived the general idea as outlined above, his imagination was too vivid, erratic and colorful not to investigate every cranny and crevice of fun whither his fancy might ramble, without taking thought of anything but the capriccio itself.

This does not mean, however, that minor points within *Prinzessin Brambilla* do not recall the fiabe to a marked degree. It is very apparent that Hoffmann had Gozzi continually in memory while he wrote his fantastic fairy story. For example, the masks are repeatedly referred to, particularly Pantalone and Truffaldino, two of Gozzi's favorites. Hoffmann may have derived the idea of the charlatan, mountebank and public entertainer, Signor Celionati, from a similar figure in *Il re cervo,* for Cigolotti holds the same position in the Italian version as Celionati in the German story. It is also of interest that the godmother of the heroine

of our tale, of Princess Brambilla herself, is none other than the Queen of Tarocke, Tartagliona, the wicked mother of King Tartaglia in *L'augellino belverde*,[20] and that her great-uncle is the King of Serendippo who, incidentally, is the hero of Gozzi's fiaba, *Il re cervo,* already mentioned as containing the figure of Cigolotti, prototype of Celionati.

More than once, reference is made to *Il mostro turchino.* The rôle of Prince Taer is repeatedly mentioned as Giglio Fava's best production, at least in his own opinion. One method of showing his gradual development from a poor tragedian to a good comedian is indicated by the change in costume as he wanders through the Corso. At first the idea is repugnant to him of assuming in its entirety the garb of Pantalone. Only partly does he consent to such disfigurement.

"No," cried Giglio, "no, it is not possible that Her Highness should not esteem a symmetrical body, that she should not be repelled by such a malicious disfigurement. I will imitate that actor who, when he played in horrible disguise in Gozzi's drama *Il mostro turchino,* knew enough to stretch forth from beneath the motly tiger paw the daintily formed hand, which nature had bestowed upon him, and thus to win the hearts of the ladies even before his transformation!"[21]

Again, Fava's impresario, unable to earn sufficient money with the Abbate Chiari's pseudo-tragedies to defray expenses, paves the way for our hero in his new rôle by opening his theatre to the neglected national masks—undoubtedly an allusion to Gozzi and the Sacchi troupe! A typical improvised mask comedy is then sketched, which, however, has not the depth of Gozziesque invention.

Besides actually bringing in the masks as part of the plot, Hoffmann has them discussed in detail by the group of

[20] *Ibid.,* XI, 17. Cf. *Le fiabe,* II, *L'augellino belverde:* Tartagliona, vecchia regina de' Tarocchi.

[21] *Ibid.,* XI, 21.

German artists in the Caffè Greco. It is in these conversations that the idea of a hidden, philosophical basis of this charming capriccio first becomes obvious. Reinhold considers the masks

> an open treasure trove of the most delightful mockery, the most pertinent irony, of the freest, I might almost say most impudent caprice, although I think that they concern the various external phenomena in human nature itself, or, in shorter and better form, regard mankind rather than man as an individual. Besides, I implore you, Celionati, not to consider me mad, or that I doubt finding in your nation men endowed with the most profound sense of humor. The invisible church recognizes no difference of nationality; its members are everywhere.[22]

This is surely as admirable a conception and appreciation of the types of drama resurrected by Gozzi as one may hope to find anywhere. Furthermore Celionati relates to the Germans the story of King Ophioch and Queen Liris. This king resembles Prince Tartaglia of *L'amore delle tre melarance* in so far as he, too, suffers from melancholia which will not abate until an exterior source of action causes mirth. He shares a trait of King Millo of Frattombrosa, who was obsessed by a form of madness that caused him to find pleasure only in hunting.

The Abbate Chiari and his illogical tragedies have already been noticed. They are scored severely by Hoffmann, who takes delight in censoring particularly the "rose-water of his martellian verse,"[23] which had previously incurred the wrath of Gozzi himself. Through the Abbate Chiari, he pours scorn upon all the petty German tragedy writers of the time, pointing out the chief defects which irritated him. The literary satire of these passages is very much like that found in *L'amore delle tre melarance,* in which sense and nonsense are mingled in heterogeneous fashion. A climax to this scathing arraignment is reached when Giglio Fava's

[22] *Ibid.,* XI, 42. [23] *Ibid.,* XI, 43.

double is found dead in the street, and upon dissection is discovered to have been, not a human being of flesh and blood, but a form of cardboard, the interior of which was filled with parts from the tragedies of the Abbate Chiari. "The physicians ascribed the deadliness of the blow which Giglio Fava received from his opponent to nothing but the dreadful ruin of all principles of digestion through the use of wholly ineffectual and insipid means of sustenance."[24] As a whole, Hoffmann's satire, while quite original, is influenced by Gozzi throughout, both in content and in the spirit of mockery which pervades it.

Perhaps the stimulus of writing the *Prinzessin Brambilla* dates back to 1804, when Hoffmann composed the music for Brentano's *Die lustigen Musikanten.* The production of this operetta, which was staged by the Wothe troupe in Warsaw under Hoffmann's direction, was a lamentable failure. The composer wrote of it: "Particularly the fact that the Italian masks appear therein, caused vexation. . . . Sacred Gozzi, what monsters were made out of the charming figures of your jovial fancy! On the other hand, they judged the music more favorably, they call it ardent and well weighted . . . in the *Elegante Zeitung.* On account of this composition I was called an expert!"[25]

A memory of this rather unsuccessful attempt of Brentano's to establish the masks in Germany, may have induced Hoffmann ten years later to reproduce the style of the Venetian in the fragment *Prinzessin Blandina,*[26] a romantic drama in three acts of which, however, only the first act was completed. Embodying a romantic irony in the manner of Tieck which is utterly destructive of all illusion, Adolar and Sempiternus, two courtiers of the misanthropic princess, themselves conceived in the spirit of the masks, state

[24] *Ibid.,* XI, 101.
[25] *Ibid.,* I, xxvii.
[26] *Ibid,* XV, 211-47. It dates back from May, 1814.

their opinion of the exposition which they are to furnish to the audience.

> By means of a few cunning suggestions we are to lead the spectator immediately *medias in res,* we are to hint that we are courtiers of *Princess Blandina* who, in addition to extraordinary, disconcerting beauty, bears within herself not so much a decided dislike of the masculine sex, as that she is seized by some foolish fancy considers herself of superior, supernatural origin, and therefore locks her heart against every mortal. She raves about marriages with spirits of the air and expects nothing less than that some Ariel will fall fatally in love with her, will sacrifice his immortality for her sake and, borrowing without any intention of returning it, the form of the most beautiful youth, will woo her.[27]

Blandina's refusal of innumerable suitors has done the country great harm for, angered by her attitude, the rejected princes have warred against her, so that her army has been practically annihilated. At the opening of the drama the Moorish King Kilian is besieging the gates of the capital, ready either to marry Blandina or to conquer her kingdom and to carry her off by force. The similarity of this plot to that of *Turandot* is obvious to the reader, and is confirmed by Sempiternus himself. "Must I draw your attention to the fact that the whole piece is utterly miserable! A wretched imitation, nothing else. Princess Blandina is a modified Turandot, the Moorish King a second Fierabras."[28] Adding ironically that the progress in education enabled one to recognize at once the models employed by the poet, the latter himself maliciously draws attention to the fact that he is about to use Gozzi's style of writing.

Princess Blandina enters, preceded by Brighella and her bodyguard, and is followed by Tartaglia as First Master of Ceremonies. She is surrounded by Pantalone and other ministers and courtiers. Her entrance is a replica of that of

[27] *Ibid.,* XV, 213-14. [28] *Ibid.,* XV, 215.

Turandot in Gozzi's fiaba. Pantalone, whose attitude toward his princess is closely modelled upon that which he assumes many times toward the royal personages of the fiabe, that of a privileged tutor and friend, who has been largely responsible for the upbringing of his pupil and whose affection for him or her is the all-absorbing interest of his life, pleads with her not to admit the Moorish ambassador to audience until she has thoroughly weighed all sides of the issue. Her peremptory refusal causes his tears to gush forth in true Gozziesque fashion. The ungallant ambassador is forcibly ejected from the presence of the princess by an apparently obscure poet, Amandus. Her heart warms toward the ardent youth, while the members of her retinue, in fear and trembling at the outrage committed upon the ambassador, desire to hand the youthful lover over immediately to the wrath of Kilian, hoping thus to avoid the king's vengeance, which must otherwise inevitably overtake them all. Tartaglia, who retains in this play his character of selfish, intriguing statesman, tries to persuade the princess to accept the Moorish king as husband and thus to save her devoted subjects from the dreadful destruction which must otherwise be their lot. He is reproved for his reprehensible, disloyal counsels by the flaming Amandus, who, inspired by gazing upon the beautiful countenance of his mistress, rushes forth to challenge the Moor to combat. The implied threats which Tartaglia had insinuated into his discourse to the princess, are rewarded by imprisonment. Loudly protesting, he is led away by Brighella, who occupies the position of captain of the guard, which he usually fills in the fiabe. The conversation between these two is full of reminiscences of the drama of Gozzi. Trying to ingratiate himself into the good graces of Brighella, Tartaglia calls to mind "the golden days when in Venice at San Samuel the greatest miracles of the fairy world arose before us. . . . Nine hundred laughing faces hung upon our glances, our words."[29] Brighella

[29] *Ibid.*, XV, 225.

remonstrates with him, saying that it is scarcely wise policy to remind him of old times,

> for, with your kind permission! when I think of Deramo of blessed memory whom, with your treacherous Crif Craf, you changed from an estimable king into a wild deer, so that he had to wander through the abhorrent body of a shabby beggar in order to attain some semblance of humanity and to reach his wife; when, moreover, I recollect beautiful Zemrude and the unfortunate Sand, when finally I call to mind King Millo and Prince Jennaro, why, my dear Excellency, then I perceive clearly that since the most ancient times you have been either a rogue or an ass. In short, therefore! it is not yet time to celebrate the wedding with compôt of turnips, plucked mice and skinned cats. You must into the tower, your Excellency, neither singing nor praying will prevent that.[30]

Tartaglia, true to character, tries to escape in order to desert to Kilian, but is marched off to be incarcerated by Brighella.

Thus Hoffmann's intimate knowledge of, and profound interest in, the works of Carlo Gozzi is revealed once more. This is evident not only from the excellent characterizations of the masks, but also from the fact that he actually quotes the "nozze di rape in composta, di sorci pelati e di gatti scorticati,"[31] which were wont to celebrate the happy outcome of the Venetian fairy-dramas.

Nor does he omit to insert the fourth mask used continually by Gozzi, the amusing Truffaldino. He is introduced as the servant of the court poet, Roderich, and retains his character of comic, droll jester. With that delightful naïveté with which Gozzi had already endowed him, Truffaldino reveals involuntarily the secrets of his master regarding the superficiality of his mournful plaints as a rejected suitor of Princess Blandina. Following in detail his prototype in

[30] *Idem.*

[31] Cf. final scenes of *L'amore delle tre melarance, Il corvo, Il re cervo,* etc.

L'augellino belverde, Truffaldino divulges his secret plan, in case he should lose his position, to steal a large package of Roderich's verses, and to sell them to the cheese-vendors, "for thus I give an impetus to good taste by giving a distinguished extraneous taste to common cheese, and I obtain the wherewithal to live."[32] His chief ambition in life—and here again he follows in the footsteps of his Venetian ancestor—is to have a position as minister, with a side line as proprietor of a sausage shop in Venice! As a special inducement, he offers to wrap the sausages in his master's sonnets. After Roderich deserts to the camp of Kilian, he meets Amandus, who is en route for the Moorish camp to annihilate the king, and informs him that he does not wish to become a subject of Kilian, but that he wants to devote himself quietly to virtue and divine poetry, wherefore he desires, for the sake of inspiration, to open a liquor and sausage shop, promising faithfully to become his own best customer right away. There is much less selfishness and brutality in the German Truffaldino than in his Italian model, the flourishing sausage-vendor.

The combat between Amandus and Kilian is clearly suggested by that in the *Mostro turchino* between Dardarnè and the charmed knight.[33] As in the Italian play, the Moor belittles the prowess and strength of his opponent, and duly pays the penalty with his life. When his head is severed from his body, it is found to be an empty milliner's block. Similarly in the *Mostro turchino,* the charmed knight dissolves into an empty coat of mail and helmet.

It is to be regretted that Hoffmann did not finish this charming fairy-drama. His really masterly handling of the masks called for a continuation. By knowing the fiabe of Gozzi in the original language, he was able to gain an insight into their character and essence which showed itself in the

[32] *Werke,* XV, 230.

[33] *Le fiabe, Mostro turchino,* Act IV, Sc. VIII, Vol. II, 249.

vividness of his portrayal, which is lacking in other German adaptations. Like Gozzi, he uses prose for the masks and other comic characters, and poetry for the serious personages of the play.

To write a charming love story in the style of the Italian "novella," to weave into it some interesting details of the life of Carlo Gozzi, to have these incidents presented in a theatre devoted to the Commedia dell' Arte, and to have the whole revolve around the personality of a well-known painter of the Italian Renaissance, was the task Hoffmann set himself in the tale of *Signor Formica.* In none other of his works does the German reproduce so vividly and with such charm the spell which the Venetian dramatist had cast over him. Like Hans Sachs in the *Meistersinger von Nürnberg,* Salvator Rosa, the famous artist, is the master mind which undertakes to unite his young friend Antonio Scacciati with his beloved Marianna Capuzzi, who is jealously watched by her uncle and guardian, Pasquale. Her escape from rigid confinement and her marriage to Antonio is finally carried out by the aid of Nicolo Musso, the director of a theatre which is closely modelled upon that of Sacchi in Venice, to which Gozzi had lent so helpful a hand. The chief actor, Signor Formica, as Pasquarello, is the image of Sacchi himself. Indeed, the whole description fits the Sacchi troupe at its best most admirably.

Nothing more perfect could be seen that the improvised production of Nicolo Musso, which bubbled over with wit, humor, and spirit, and chastized the follies of the day with sharp scourge. Every actor did his part with incomparable characterization, particularly, however, Pasquarello, who bore the audience before him with his inimitable pantomime, with his talent to imitate well-known persons to the highest degree of illusion in voice, gait, and posture, with his inexhaustible caprice, and with the pertinence of his sallies. The man who played the part of Pasquarello, and who was called Signor Formica, seemed animated by a peculiar, unusual genius; often there was something so

strange in tone and movement, that the audience, moved to the maddest mirth, felt themselves chilled, and shuddered. He was worthily supported by Doctor Graziano with a play of expression, a voice, and a talent to say seemingly amid the most absurd nonsense the most delightful things, to which nothing in the world could be compared. It was inevitable that in a short time the educated class of Rome unceasingly crowded toward Nicolo Musso's little theatre in front of the Porta del Popolo, that everyone talked of Formica and exclaimed enthusiastically on the street as well as in the theatre: Oh Formica! Formica benedetto! oh Formicissimo![34]

What words could describe more aptly the furore created by Gozzi's fiabe on the stage "all' improvviso" of Antonio Sacchi! What finer tribute could be paid to Sacchi's incomparable acting of Truffaldino or to the excellent support of his talented company! There can be no doubt that Nicolo Musso is none other than Carlo Gozzi or that the Venetian playwright and his protégés, the Sacchi troupe, furnished the model to the theatre before the Porta del Popolo.

It is possible that an incident related in Gozzi's *Memorie inutili* may have suggested to Hoffmann the clever plan by which Marianna effects her escape. While in military service in Dalmatia, Gozzi frequently took part in the improvised theatrical productions with which the young soldiers amused themselves at Carnival time. Because he was still very young, he presented admirably the Dalmatian soubrette, Luce, and on one of these occasions he impersonated the wife of Pantalone addressing her child, Tonina, whom she had named after a very famous courtesan in Dalmatia. This woman was herself present at the performance, and was compelled to hear incidents of her life alluded to in some of Luce's speeches to her child. Needless to say, young Gozzi created a furore with his more than pointed remarks and caused the courtesan to leave the theatre in confusion. The idea of impersonating one or more members of the audience is em-

[34] Hoffmann, *Werke,* IX, 55-56.

ployed by Hoffmann in Signor Formica. Pasquale Capuzzi, attending a performance of his own opera at the theatre of Nicolo Musso, is greeted by his double upon the stage, yet with so changed a character, that Pasquale finds it incumbent upon himself to remonstrate with the actor. He is actually carried so far in his excitement, that he leaves Marianna unprotected while he mounts upon the stage, and she makes her escape.

Pasquarello's arguments with Doctor Graziano are sketched in outline in exactly the manner which Gozzi uses for indicating the speeches of his masks. It is of interest to note that in one of these, Hoffmann repeats a phrase used most successfully by Truffaldino in *L'augellino belverde:* "parla col cuore nel mano."[35] From the same scene he borrows another idea to exaggerate the comedy of the scene. In the Italian version Tartaglia asks solicitously after the health of Truffaldino. The latter replies in detail that his appetite and digestion are in good condition, "per servirlo,"[36] but that he no longer loves his wife, and he relates at length her foolish conduct. Similarly Capuzzi's double on the stage inquires after the health of Doctor Graziano, whose answer in substance is a somewhat softened form of Truffaldino's response, with the insertion of the ubiquitous "per servirlo": "On the stage Capuzzi embraced Doctor Graziano with great friendliness and asked him how he felt. Doctor Graziano replied that his appetite was good, his sleep sound, at your service *(per servirlo),* but that, as far as his purse was concerned, he was suffering from galloping consumption.[37] Only a very intimate acquaintance with the original and a psychological kinship with its author could have suggested the clever introduction of this motif into the German tale.

A critical analysis of such tales as *Der goldene Topf, Nuss-*

[35] *Ibid.,* IX, 74. Cf. C. Gozzi, *L'augellino belverde,* Act II, Sc. III.
[36] C. Gozzi, *L'augellino belverde,* Act II, Sc. III.
[37] Hoffmann, *Werke,* IX, 74.

knacker und Mausekönig, and *Meister Floh,* produces the impression that memories of the fiabe constantly haunted Hoffmann while he was writing these stories, memories which made themselves felt again and again in minor episodes and names and in the peculiar Gozziesque flavor of a word or phrase.

In *Der goldene Topf,* for example, the real heroine is the magical Serpentina, half woman, half serpent, a symbol for poetry, who is wooed and won by the student Anselmus. She dwells in the mystical garden in the house of her father, the Archivar Lindhorst, who is himself symbolically a salamander. The origin of her supernatural character, now serpent, now woman in love with a human being, may have been suggested by Cherestanì the heroine of *La donna serpente* who, herself a fairy, loved the all too human King Farruscad of Teflis. Gozzi uses the name of Serpentina for the fairy in whose garden the dancing water and the singing apple were to be found. In Gozzi, however, neither the name nor the fairy occurs beyond this one incident. A prominent part in the Italian play is taken by the Green Bird, who may perhaps be considered the prototype of the talking bird in the German Märchen.

Fate, in the shape of two chameleon-like figures who change from their human forms to supernatural beings and as such govern the destinies of the principal characters, is personified by the Salamander-Archivar Lindhorst, who is the protector of Serpentina and Anselmus, and by the old woman who variously assumes the shape of apple-vender, old nursemaid, and witch, and who tries in vain to gain control of the young student for her lovelorn protégé, Veronika Paulmann. The position occupied in the story by Hoffmann's two elusive, subtly mystifying figures, recalls the characters of Celio Mago and the Fairy Morgana in *L'amore delle tre melarance.* They, too, are the guardian-spirits of the two factions which combat for and against the destiny of Prince

Tartaglia of Coppè and Princess Ninetta. In both instances the women, Liese and Veronika, as well as Morgana and Clarice, typify the Philistine, mediocre, commonplace element in literature which meets defeat at the hands of the truly poetic, idealistic element, symbolized by Lindhorst and Anselmus and their quasi-models, Celio Mago and Prince Tartaglia. Both Princess Serpentina and Princess Ninetta, two sylphlike, unearthly fairies, only partly human in origin, attract the poetic natures of their lovers who have to prove their worth and fitness to enter the celestial realms of true literary genius.

It is indeed in the vivid consciousness of the eternal conflict between philistine mediocrity and true art that the Venetian playwright and the German Romanticist meet on common ground. Both the play and the story unite fantastic imagination with biting satire on the prevailing literary taste of the times. Anselmus who possesses the latent powers of a great poet, tries professional life and almost succumbs to the torture of having the wings of his fancy clipped to meet the requirement of living hemmed in a "glass bottle," i.e., of settling down to the humdrum existence of a literary hack. Similarly Tartaglia is threatened with death by hypochondria, the effect of the contemporary literature of Chiari and Goldoni. Both heroes are finally rescued after a fierce struggle and are happily united to true poetry in the personifications of Serpentina and Ninetta.

In Gozzi's *Re cervo,* King Deramo was aided in his search for a sincere, true, and loving wife by a gift from the magician Durandarte, consisting of a magic bust which by its betraying laugh reveals the falseness of the women who affirm their affection for the King. For five years King Deramo seeks his ideal in vain. Finally he finds it in Angela, the daughter of his second minister, Pantalone. Rejoicing in his newly acquired unexpected happiness, he expresses his love for Angela by destroying the bust, declaring that he

wishes never to be tempted henceforth to suspect her love, faith, or virtue.

Angela, the personification of loving womanhood, and the test to which she submitted triumphantly, so impressed Hoffmann, that he embodied this episode in his *Meister Floh.* Instead of a bust, the hero, Peregrinus Thyss, was presented with a microscopic lens which enabled him to look right through the minds of men and to read their innermost thoughts. The scope of this magical gift is developed to embrace not only women, but all mankind. Thus he is able to tell false friends from true; to ward off the results of evil machinations plotted against him; to mingle freely in society, hearing not only the conventional statements made to his face, but divining the true thoughts of the people making them, only too often the reverse of the flattery accorded him. When he falls in love with Röschen Lämmerhirt, a beautiful, innocent, young girl, he is tempted to use the lens on her also: he recognizes in time, however, how contemptible such a procedure would be and is ready to destroy the lens which would inevitably make of him a misanthrope:

"What," he exclaimed to himself, "a man who pries into the most hidden thoughts of his fellowmen, does not this baneful gift bring upon him the dreadful fate which befell the Wandering Jew, who wandered through the motliest, bustling throng in the world without joy, without hope, without sorrow, in dumb indifference, which is the *caput mortuum* of despair? Always hoping anew, always trusting anew, yet continually bitterly disappointed, what else can happen but that distrust, horrid suspicion, hatred, lust for revenge should settle within the soul and devour every vestige of the truly humane principle which is expressed in mild confidence, in pious kindliness? . . . . Even true friends, who really mean well—how changeable is the nature of man! Cannot a malicious conjuncture of disagreeable circumstances, an ill humor originating in the injustice of capricious accident, produce in the souls of these friends a passing, hostile thought? And this thought is seized by the unhappy lens, dark distrust

fills the mind and in the most unjust anger, in insane folly, I thrust the true friend from my bosom and deeper and deeper into the very root of life the deadly poison of wicked resentment eats its way."[38]

Hoffmann has not only grasped and adapted the idea originating in Gozzi's fiaba; he has developed and amplified it into an ethical, humanitarian principle. The same broadening principle he uses with regard to the second secret which each of the monarchs possessed. King Deramo has a charm with a certain intrinsic, specific virtue. In Peregrinus this becomes a talisman of the highest potency: the all-embracing power of genuine love. A few less important passages in *Meister Floh* also have an interesting Gozziesque flavor and are, perhaps, worthy of mention. When Hoffmann calls upon "nursemaids, old cronies, etc."[39] as the most excellent tellers of fairy tales, one remembers Gozzi's tribute to "grandams, and so forth" for the same reason. Peregrinus' youthful predilection for the city of Pekin[40] is attributable perhaps, to memories of *Turandot,* while the allusions to Samarkand[41] savor strongly of *I pitocchi fortunati* and others of the fiabe. A distinct reference to *L'amore delle tre melarance* is made by one of the characters, George Pepusch, when he likens the flea-tamer Leuwenhöck "to the awkward servant . . . . who liberated two maidens from the pomegranates, without first securing the means of keeping them alive, so that they perished miserably before his eyes."[42]

Indirect allusions to fiabe of Gozzi are found in two other fairy tales of Hoffmann: In *Nussknacker und Mausekönig,* an active part in the battle between the toy-soldiers and the mice is taken by Pantalon, who directed the cavalry; while one of the principal characters of *Klein Zaches genannt Zinnober* is the Fee Rosabelverde, whose name may be a

[38] Hoffmann, *Werke,* XII, 126.
[39] *Ibid.,* XII, 5.
[40] *Ibid.,* XII, 12. [41] *Ibid.,* XII, 32. [42] *Ibid.,* XII, 36.

direct adaptation of *L' augellino belverde.* She, too, has the faculty of changing her shape, and guides the destinies of her protégé, as her prototype did before her. When observed secretly in the forest, she was seen to take particular pleasure in conversing with "rare birds having gaily-colored plumage, not at all native in the district, [which] fluttered around and caressed her, and seemed to tell her all sorts of merry things which made her laugh and rejoice."[43] She was one of several fairies who had chosen for their home the peaceful spot where the action of the tale is laid. Its beautiful landscape, its delightful climate, and the freedom promised them had induced them to settle there, even as the fairies had settled in the realm of King Farruscad of Teflis.[44]

The sad, fatalistic tale of *Der Magnetiseur,* with its weird ending, while not at all reminiscent of the fiabe of Gozzi, refers at least once to the Italian in a way to evidence still further Hoffmann's preoccupation with him and to document it for an early period of his literary career.[45] The painter, Franz Bickert, whose characteristics as portrayed in the story recall Hoffmann himself, expressing his attitude toward dreams, explains that by busying his mind with memories of strange figures of comic adventures which he had either previously encountered on his travels or which were figments of his wandering fancy, he could prepare for himself the most entertaining dramas for the night.

> It seems as though, during the preceding evening, I had but given myself the outline, the sketch of the play, and in my dream everything would be improvised with ardor and life, according to the dictates of the poet. I bear the whole Sacchi troupe within me, which presents so vividly the Gozziesque fairy tale with every

[43] *Ibid.*, V, 11.

[44] C. Gozzi, *Le fiabe, La donna serpente.*

[45] Begun in Dresden, May 19, 1813. Cf. Hoffmann's *Tagebücher und literarische Entwürfe,* hrsg. von Hans von Müller, Berlin, 1915, p. 198.

nuance copied from life, so that the audience, which I represent also, believes in it as though it were true.[46]

The charming heroine, Marie, is subjected to a peculiar, somnambulistic condition due to her evil genius, the mesmeriser Alban. She confides to her friend Adelgunde that, while in this trancelike state, all the fairy-stories which had been wont to delight her as a child become startlingly alive to her. She mentions particularly *Das grüne Vögelchen* and *Prinz Fakardin von Trebisond,* the former of which furnishes the subject of one of Gozzi's best known fiabe. When Alban appears in her dreams, he is always clothed in a long *talar* and wears a diamond crown, "like the romantic king in the fairy-like world of spirits,"[47] reminding the reader of Sinadab, King of Samandal, the villainous wizard of *La Zobeide,* whose evil influence and machinations are of the same malignancy as those of Alban, who causes the death of Marie and her family.

Venice is the scene of one of the most beautiful of Hoffmann's tales, *Doge und Dogaresse.*[48] The story is built up around a picture exhibited at the Berlin Academy of Arts in 1816 by the painter C. Kolbe, in which a gray-bearded, magnificently clad, old doge walks beside his wife, a very young, beautiful woman, who is lost in dreamy longing. They are followed by an elderly woman and a man carrying an open sunshade. A gondola, richly decorated and bearing the Venetian flag is visible; in it are two gondoliers. This picture, Hoffmann tells us, evoked the admiration of the frequenters of the Academy, one of whom, in a burst of enthusiasm, exclaimed: "O wonderful Venice!" and quoted Turandot's riddle of the Lion of the Adriatic: "Dimmi qual sia quella terribil fera."[49] He was answered by a sonorous voice which quoted Prince Calaf's correct solution: *Tu quad-*

[46] Hoffmann, *Werke,* I, 147.
[47] *Ibid.,* I, 163. [48] *Ibid.,* VII, 101-45. [49] *Ibid.,* VII, 102.

rupede fera."[50] This unexpected, somewhat singular, reply from a total stranger led to a mutual introduction and the tale of Marino Falieri, Doge of Venice, and his wife Annunziata.

Other allusions might be mentioned *en passant* to illustrate still further how readily Gozzi's figures and the apparatus of the fiabe came to Hoffmann's mind. The hero of *Die Irrungen,* Baron Theodor von S., becomes interested in an unknown, heavily veiled lady. When finally she removed the veil, her beauty had the effect of "Turandot's fatal glance"[51] upon him and he falls hopelessly in love with her. A similar situation prevails in *Der unheimliche Gast.* Count S., upon seeing the photograph of the daughter of a friend, becomes as madly enamored of her as Calaf had been of Turandot when he beheld the miniature of the latter. The father of the young girl, Angelika who, apropos, bears a name which recurs continually in the fiabe, "jested at the strange effect of the picture, called the Count a new Calaf, and wished him happiness, that his good Angelika would not prove a Turandot, at least."[52]

The gambler Vertua and his daughter Angela, who are two of the chief characters of *Spielerglück,* are reminiscent of old Pantalone and his beautiful daughter, so frequently met with in the fiabe. This particular motive in which a lovely, pure young girl willingly assumes the burden of supporting her father,[53] is found in both the German tale and in the Italian play, *I pitocchi fortunati.* It may not be entirely a coincidence that both the heroines bear the same name.

The chapter of the "Contrattempi" in the *Memorie inutili* which so attracted Ludwig Tieck, as well as many other authors, is alluded to by Hoffmann in his novel *Der Zusammenhang der Dinge.*[54] One of the main characters, Ludwig, relates the facts of a portentous day on which everything

[50] *Idem.* [51] *Ibid.,* VIII, 75. [52] *Ibid.,* VIII, 108.
[53] *Ibid.,* VIII, 217. [54] *Ibid.,* IX, 124-71.

went wrong, until a climax was reached when he found that he had proposed to the wrong woman: a chapter of accidents "worthy of Carlo Gozzi himself!"

An amusing adaptation of one of Brighella's speeches is to be found in *Kater Murr*. The famous cat, Murr, who had just given a detailed account of his first duel, had won it by feinting. Thence he drew his philosophical conclusion for the benefit of all young tom-cats: "that courage and bravery avail nought against feinting and that, therefore, an exact study of this art is necessary in order not to be downtrodden, but to remain erect. 'Chi no se ajuta, se nega,' says Brighella in Gozzi's *Pitocchi fortunati* and the man is right, absolutely right."[55] Here is a true perception of Gozzi's humor conceived in a similar mocking spirit.

Into the Kreisler biography, which is part of the same work, creeps a touch of Gozziesque characterization and allusion in conjunction with the Neapolitan villain, Prince Hektor. When the latter first came into contact with the eccentric conductor, his insolent bearing stung Kreisler to the quick, causing him to exclaim with that bitter, biting sarcasm for which he was famous: "Considering that he is an Italian guardsman, the noble gentleman speaks German tolerably well; tell him, your Excellency, that I can serve him with the choicest Neapolitan and shall not smuggle in any proper Romanic, least of all however, like a mask of Gozzi, despicable Venetian,"[56] a reference to the city where Hektor had been guilty of great crime.

The same prince who was the suitor of charming Princess Hedwiga, has an uncanny atmosphere surrounding him which involuntarily causes him to be regarded in the light of a monster.

> The Princess maintained nothing less than that, while dancing, the Prince had become transformed into a dragon-like monster, and that he had stabbed her heart with a pointed, red-hot tongue.

[55] *Ibid.*, X, 242. [56] *Ibid.*, X, 145.

"God help us," exclaimed Benzon, "perhaps Prince Hektor is the *mostro turchino* from the Gozzi fiaba! What fancies! It will finally end as with Kreisler, whom you considered a menacing maniac!" "Never," exclaimed the Princess passionately, and then added laughingly, "truly, I should not like my good Kreisler to change as suddenly into the *mostro turchino* like Prince Hektor!"[57]

The princess was not the only one who felt the evil influence emanating from the prince. Madame Benzon's daughter, Julia, a girl of the finest type and character, experienced the same sensations when in the company of the prince as Hedwiga had done. She likened him to a murderer who has picked out his victim, whose baleful glance slew before he drew the dagger. She compared him to a basilisk whose very look, like a poisonous flame, instantly annihilated him who looked at him. Again her mother, trying to soothe Julia, laughingly mentioned the *mostro turchino:* "since the Prince, although he was the most handsome, charming young man, appeared to two young girls as a dragon, and as a basilisk."[58] How justified these girls were in their instinctive dread of the Neapolitan was later shown by Kreisler, who commended them for their intuition.[59] Prince Hektor turned out to be a murderer and bandit of the worst type, just as loathsome a character morally as the *mostro turchino* appeared physically to those who saw him before his disenchantment. The parallel established by Hoffmann is very interesting.

The deeply sympathetic bond which united Hoffmann's genius to that of Gozzi did not escape the attention of the contemporaries of the bizarre German Romanticist. In 1822, the year of Hoffmann's death, a comic opera was produced in Vienna[60] and in Pesth,[61] entitled *Der Zauberspruch,* in two

[57] *Ibid.,* X, 171. [58] *Ibid.,* X, 172. [59] *Ibid.,* X, 184.
[60] P----g in *Bäurles Theaterzeitung,* 1822, Nr. 54.
[61] *Ibid.,* Nr. 88 and 119.

acts, with music by Pixis. The plot seems to have been taken from *Il corvo*.[62] The text was ascribed by critics to Hoffmann. The criticisms contained in various numbers of the *Bäuerle Theaterzeitung* differ greatly. The first one is frankly laudatory. "There is probably but one man in all Germany who could stage the fiabe of Gozzi, which are in themselves at present incapable of production, in proper adaptation for our theatre, and this is Hoffmann in Berlin. He alone understands how to prune the too voluptuous protuberances of the rude but virile genius in such wise that the whole appears in a more pleasing, modern form, without losing in intrinsic value on that account," writes P——g.[63] A few months later the correspondent from Pesth records his impression: "Few merits in composition, none at all in poetry."[64] The production does not seem to have been staged elsewhere, at least no further reference to it has been found. It is worth noting that Jean Paul Richter also felt the close relationship between Hoffmann and Gozzi when he dubbed the former "dieser malende Gozzi"[65] in his preface to the *"Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier."*

The kinship between Hoffmann and the Venetian dramatist rests on a similar soul-experience, similarity in grotesque fancy, a kindred conception of caustic humor and the same penetrating vision of the literary evils of their time. This innate fellowship caused Hoffmann to absorb and appreciate the work of Carlo Gozzi as no other had done before him, and the natural result is the frequent analyses, characterizations, and allusions to the fiabe scattered through his works, to which attention has been called. All of these, as has been pointed out repeatedly, are laudatory to the point of en-

[62] It was not possible to obtain a copy of this libretto, nor is it contained in Hoffmann's collected works.

[63] *Bäuerles Theaterzeitung,* Nr. 54.

[64] *Ibid.,* Nr. 119.

[65] Hoffmann, *Werke,* I, 4.

thusiasm: always Hoffmann preserves a kindly, appreciative attitude toward the Venetian, regretting the fact that he should have been so quickly forgotten by posterity, and attempting as it were to elevate him to the position which posterity should assign him.

This genuine admiration never degenerates into direct imitation, but evidences itself in the absorption of the Gozziesque spirit and manner and in the reproduction of its essence in Hoffmann's inimitable, fantastic fashion.

CONCLUSION

How, then, can one summarize the rôle which Gozzi plays in the history of German literature? It is naturally, hard to reduce to absolute terms a discussion which is, which must be, in the nature of a survey and of necessity, incomplete. Certain obvious conclusions may, however, be justified. That Carlo Gozzi exercized a very definite influence upon certain phases of German literature is undeniable. The flood of translations and adaptations which inundated the German press and stage in the eighteenth century, though to a large extent ephemeral in nature, testifies to the keen temporary interest aroused by the Venetian and his works. The novelty and unexpectedness of the type of drama which he created caused German writers of the period to dress his work over in a form which could be appreciated by their countrymen, both as literature and as dramas for the stage. The strange and exotic atmosphere surrounding the masks, while it attracted these Northern writers, nevertheless baffled them, and eventually proved their undoing. While they may themselves have appreciated the finesse of the Commedia dell' Arte, yet none was able to reproduce the masterpieces of the Italian in a way which could convey to a German audience the evanescent charm of the fiabe.

In the course of years, as the Romantic theories gradually took possession of German literary circles, the interest manifested in Gozzi, took a different turn. His German readers sought—and found—in his works fundamental, Romantic ideas akin to their own. The Venetian's championship of a definite group of actors and their scorned art assumed for the Romanticists magnificent proportions. He became the heroic defender of the oppressed, the pigmy David going forth to slay the Goliath Goldoni, the champion of the liberty of the individual against society, the sole support and mainstay of a popular but neglected type of national art. The fact that though fond of mingling in society, Carlo Gozzi lived, on

the whole, the life of a recluse—a fact to which he draws attention frequently in his Memoirs—caused certain of the Romanticists to identify him with that sardonic, mysterious, ineffably baffling, yet irresistibly magnetic type of personality, which is one of the best loved creations of their School. Thus they surrounded him with an atmosphere which was essentially of their own imagination. Gozzi suffered all his life from the delusion that he was misunderstood. And certainly nowhere was he so thoroughly misunderstood as among his Romantic admirers in Germany. They felt a subtle kinship with this man, who had devoted his literary career to entertaining his countrymen, only to be rewarded with utter ingratitude and with oblivion even during his lifetime, for they, the Romanticists too, were at odds with the world, were misunderstood, and instinctively feared that they would share the fate meted out to him.

At the same time certain attributes of his art attracted them. His forceful satire of false forms of literature, his virile and fantastic imagination, his brilliant, imaginative phraseology, the plasticity and energy of his expression, awakened responsive chords. Some of the greatest men, not only of the period, but of all German literary history, like Tieck and Hoffmann, responded to the inspiration of his works and produced works which, even if not classed among their greatest masterpieces, will at least be known and appreciated as long as the fame of their authors endures.

Again the times change, and with them the fashion of the world of letters. It is no longer Carlo Gozzi as a precursor of Romanticism who fascinates his readers; it is the author of charming, light or melodramatic plays fit for the operatic stage, who attracts them. Again and again they are used with musical interpretation throughout the rest of the nineteenth century until this fountain, too, seems to be exhausted. None of the Gozzi operas, with the exception of Richard Wagner's *Feen,* are probably worthy of survival.[1]

The latest phase of Gozzi production in Germany and Austria appears full of promise for a spectacular development. Caustic humor, tragic melodrama and mordant satire are forgotten. Dainty, pretty, charming, the characters and masks have come into their own in a new interpretation, as they lightly trip across the stage in the musical extravaganza. It will be interesting to watch whether this new aspect of the fiabe will gradually develop into a further phase.

Meanwhile it may be stated unreservedly that Carlo Gozzi, both as man and as dramatist, has assured himself a permanent place in German literature as a source of inspiration to many different types of writers, and occupies a position which is far greater and more honorable than that accorded him by the majority of his own countrymen. The story of his adoption into the literature and the theatre north of the Alps is the record of a significant contribution from the colorful, artistic spirit of Italy to the dramatic life of the German peoples.

[1] Puccini's posthumous opera *Turandot,* while not a German production, should be mentioned among the operas based on Gozzi and Schiller destined to survive mere transitory fame.

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